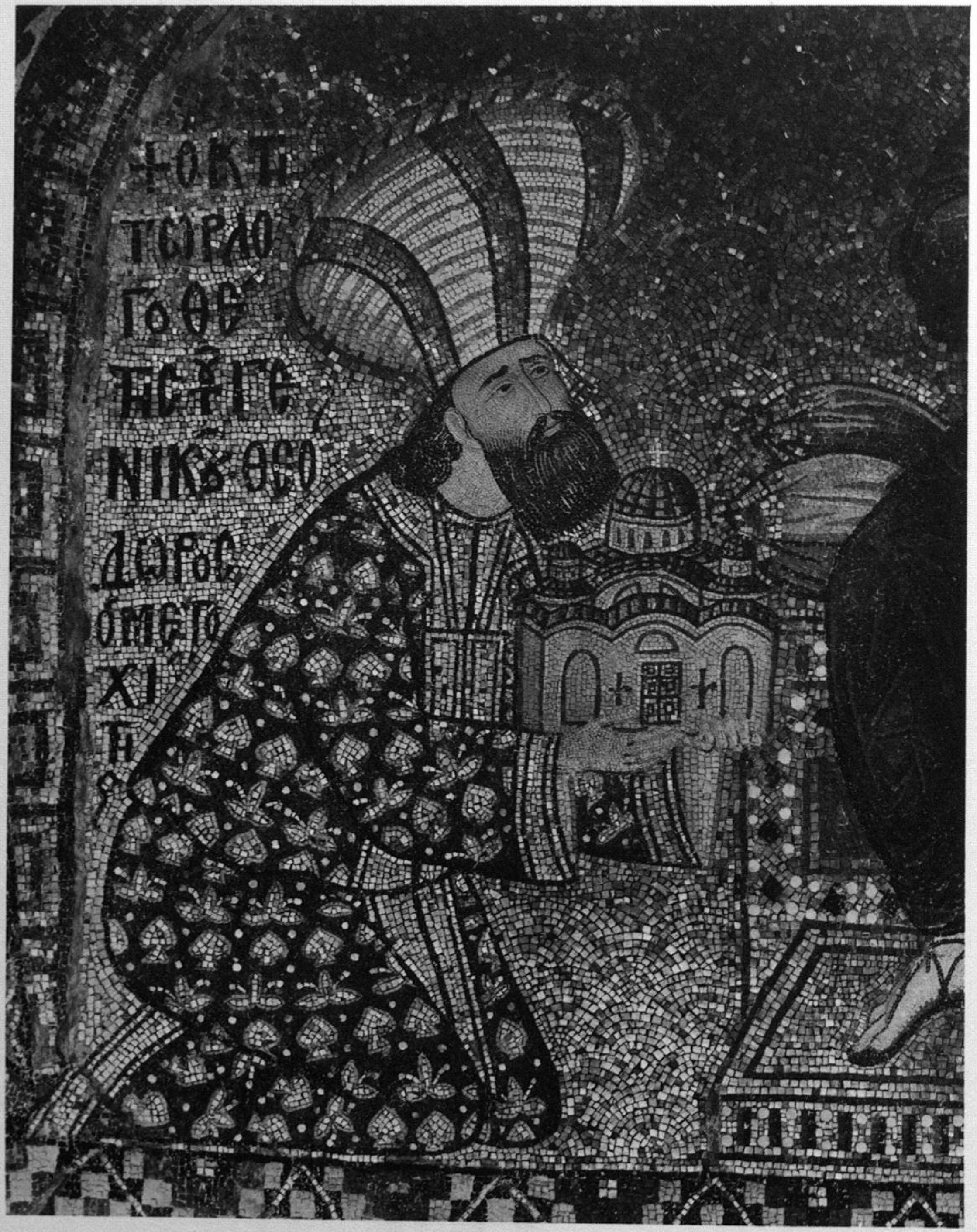

Kariye Camii. Inner narthex. Donor portrait of Theodore Metochites

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE KARIYE CAMII IN ISTANBUL

ROBERT G. OUSTERHOUT

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neugriechische Philologie
der Universität München

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ousterhout, Robert G.
The architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul.

(Dumbarton Oaks studies; 25)
A revision of the author's thesis (doctoral)—University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1982.
Bibliography: p. 145
Includes index.
1. Kariye Camii (Istanbul, Turkey). 2. Architecture, Byzantine—Turkey—Istanbul. 3. Architecture—Turkey—Istanbul. 4. Istanbul (Turkey)—Buildings, structures, etc. I. Title. II. Series.
NA5870.K309 1987 726'.5'09563 87-22279
ISBN 0-88402-165-2

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Preface

This study was submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the Graduate College at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in January 1982. Since that time, the somewhat unwieldy text has been revised and updated, and new drawings have been prepared.

The years that I have devoted to the study of the Kariye Camii have been marked by personal growth, adventure, and invaluable contacts with people and institutions on three continents. Although it is impossible to publicly acknowledge everyone, I hope the publication of this study will help to repay those who have placed their faith in me and aided along the way.

The debt of gratitude to my teacher and advisor, Professor Slobodan Ćurčić, can never be adequately expressed. This study was begun with his guidance and encouragement. Over the years I have benefited enormously from his scholarship, enthusiasm, friendship, and keen Serbian wit.

In Istanbul, I was aided by the staff of the Ayasofya Museum who oversaw my work, particularly by Bay Şinasi Başeğmez. Professor Semavi Eyice of Istanbul University and Bay Çelik Gülersoy, President of the Touring and Automobile Club of Turkey, also offered invaluable assistance during my many visits to Turkey, as did my friends Turgay and Mualla Uykusuz and Yıldıray Camlık.

The research that led to the writing of the dissertation was aided by financial support from the University of Illinois and the American Research Institute in Turkey, 1979–80. The majority of the text was written while I was a Junior Fellow at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., 1980–81. The first revisions of the text were undertaken during a Summer Fellowship at Dumbarton Oaks in 1983. Additional summer travel in Turkey and Greece, 1982–85, was aided by the Graduate College at the University of Oregon and the Research Board at the University of Illinois. The Word Processing Center of the School of Architecture at the University of Illinois graciously assisted with the preparation of the final typescript. I am grateful to these institutions for their generous support.

In a sense this study was begun three years before I was born, when the Byzantine Institute of America commenced the cleaning and restoration of the Kariye Camii in 1947. A separate study of the architecture was envisioned, but the project was abandoned with the untimely death of the Institute's director, Professor P. A. Underwood, in 1968. It was ten years later, on the suggestion of Professor Ćurčić, that I began to recollect the pieces that resulted in the present study. Throughout my examination of the Kariye, the initial work of Professor Underwood has served as a guide and an inspiration. In the early stages of my research, I was aided by Professors George Forsyth, Jr., Cyril Mango, and David Oates, who shared unpublished excavation notes with me. In addition, Professor Giles Constable of Dumbarton Oaks kindly placed the substantial archival material at Dumbarton Oaks at my disposal.

The architectural drawings in the present study are based largely on a set of unpublished measured drawings prepared in 1:25 scale by the Byzantine Institute of America between 1956 and 1962, now in the archives of Dumbarton Oaks. These were corrected by the author and redrawn by architects Oscar Villamil, Timothy Blatner, and Patrick Busteed. Additional architectural drawings are by the author.

Numerous illustrations were made available by the Photograph Collection at Dumbarton Oaks, a resource that proved invaluable in the preparation of this study. I am indebted to Ms. Charlotte Burk and Ms. Claudia Vess for assistance in the preparation of this material. In Istanbul my own photography was aided by Mr. Turgay Uykusuz. Professor C. L. Striker provided a much-needed photograph, as well as useful comments on the text. I am also grateful to the publications staff at Dumbarton Oaks, particularly Frances Kianka and Glenn Ruby, for their care, enthusiasm, and high professional standards.

Finally, this study could not have been completed in its present form without the continued interest and assistance of Mr. Ernest J. W. Hawkins. His keen awareness of Byzantine archeology and excellent memory of years of fieldwork in Istanbul have been among my most valuable resources in my study of the Kariye Camii. It is with a special debt of gratitude that I dedicate this study to him.

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List of Abbreviations

BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CCARB	*Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
IM	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
IRAIK	*Izvestiia Russkago Arkheologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole*
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JÖBG	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*
JSAH	*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
RBK	*Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
TTKB	*Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*
ZRVI	*Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta*

Introduction

Purpose of the Study

The building known today as the Kariye Camii is second in renown only to Hagia Sophia among the Byzantine churches of Istanbul. It is the only surviving edifice of the Chora Monastery, one of the most important religious foundations of Byzantine Constantinople. Converted to a mosque after the fall of the city to the Turks, the building is now surrounded by the sprawling, modern city of Istanbul (Fig. 1). According to tradition, the site of the Chora was first used by the Christians, ca. A.D. 300, for the burial of St. Babylas. At that time the site lay outside the city limits, as the name of the later monastery suggests.[1] With the enlargement of the city under Theodosius II in the fifth century, the property fell barely one hundred meters inside the new city wall, lying on the sloping ground that falls away to the east, between the Adrianople Gate (Edirne Kapı) and the Blachernae Palace. The location was to prove important in the later history of the Chora. Although within the city wall, the setting of the monastery probably remained rural throughout most of its history.[2]

While the earliest foundation on the site may predate the city of Constantine, nothing of this period survives. The substructures of the Kariye itself may be as early as the sixth century, and the historian Nicephorus Gregoras claimed that the monastery was originally founded by Justinian.[3] The superstructure is considerably later in date, primarily the result of the early fourteenth-century rebuilding and enlargement undertaken by Theodore Metochites, whose dedicatory portrait still survives (Frontispiece). It is Metochites whom we have to thank for the magnificent mosaics and frescoes, on which the fame of the building rests. These represent the best surviving decorative ensemble in the capital and one of the high points of Byzantine artistic achievement. Interest in the mosaics and frescoes led ultimately to the preservation of the building as a museum. The Kariye Camii functions in this capacity today and is one of the most popular tourist attractions in Istanbul.

Modern interest in the Kariye has focused almost exclusively on the mosaics and frescoes. Western visitors of the late nineteenth century knew the building as the "Mo-

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[1] For the date of the foundation and a discussion of the name *Chora* as a toponym, see P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (New York, 1966), I, 4–7; also R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin,* I, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, iii, Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969), 531–32; F. I. Shmit, *Kakhrie-dzhami,* IRAIK 11 (Sofia-Munich, 1906), I, 3–46.

[2] Concerning the rural character of Constantinople, see C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), 60–87.

[3] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia,* IX, 12: Bonn ed. (1829), I, 458 f; Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 4–7; Janin, *Géographie,* I, iii, 532–33.

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saic Mosque," and it appears that its decorations were never totally covered; otherwise devout Moslems were not adverse to earning a little *bakşiş* by showing these to the tourists.[4] The many inscriptions surviving in the mosaics have assured the proper identification of the building, determined by modern scholars as early as 1785.[5]

The wealth of the mosaic and fresco decoration has unfortunately detracted from a proper examination of the architecture; most of the literature has focused on the decoration. The two-volume opus by F. I. Shmit, *Kakhrie-dzhami,* Izvestiiâ Russkago Arkheologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole 11 (Sofia-Munich, 1906), which remained the standard monograph on the church for over fifty years, dealt primarily with the mosaics, but provided an accurate plan and elevations by N. Kluge. It was A. Rüdell, *Die Kahrie-Dschamisi in Constantinopel: Ein Kleinod byzantinischer Kunst* (Berlin, 1908), who presented the most complete discussion of the architecture to date. Although his text is brief and marred by historical inaccuracies, many of the author's observations are still valid. A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), 288–331, also briefly discussed the architecture. Without excavating and lacking our present knowledge of masonry techniques and other dating criteria, all of these authors attempted to reconstruct the early form and history of the building; much of their speculation has since been proven invalid. They believed, for example, that the plan of the building had been determined in the seventh century, on the basis of the historical documents as well as the similarities with the Koimesis church at Nicaea or Hagia Sophia at Thessaloniki. The resemblance has since proven to be fortuitous, with the plan of the Kariye dating five to seven centuries later than they supposed.[6]

Beginning in 1947 the Kariye Camii was subject to an extensive cleaning and restoration program by the Byzantine Institute of America and Dumbarton Oaks. The project, which lasted twelve years, was chronicled in the annual *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* and culminated in the publication of the lavish, three-volume monograph by P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami,* Bollingen Series 70 (New York, 1966). The fourth volume, providing commentary by various authors, appeared later: P. A. Underwood, ed., *The Kariye Djami,* IV (Princeton, 1975); again the focus was on the mosaic and fresco decorations. A limited excavation was conducted in 1957–58 to unravel the complicated structural history of the monument, but only the preliminary report from this excavation was published: D. Oates, "A Summary Report on the Excavations of the Byzantine Institute in the Kariye Djami, 1957–58," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960), 223–31. This information was reiterated but not expanded in Underwood's study. The phasing of the various periods of building activity developed from the excavation has outdated all previous treatments of the architectural history of the Kariye Camii without offering a monograph to replace them; in addition, the chronology established by the excavation raised new questions concerning the concepts of planning employed in the various periods of construction. A separate volume on the architecture was intended, but with the

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[4] See, for example, M. Crawford, *Constantinople* (London, 1895), 40–41.

[5] J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant* (Paris, 1919), 194–96.

[6] Shmit, *Kakhrie-dzhami,* I, 104–15; A. Rüdell, *Die Kahrie-Dschamisi in Constantinopel: Ein Kleinod byzantinischer Kunst* (Berlin, 1908), 22; A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* (London, 1912), 312–16.

untimely death of Professor Underwood in 1968, no further effort was made in this direction.

The present study intends to fill this gap. Indeed, the architecture of the Kariye Camii deserves closer scrutiny: the edifice served as the *katholikon* for one of the oldest and most important religious foundations of Constantinople; it was the product of one of the wealthiest and most influential men in fourteenth-century Byzantium; it is among the best surviving Palaeologan foundations in the capital; and the fortuitous survival of a good portion of its mosaics and frescoes offers a unique situation for the examination of the relationship between architecture and decoration. For these reasons the Kariye should have a key role in our understanding of Late Byzantine architecture.

Known only superficially, the building has been generally cast aside as indicative of the deterioration of Byzantine architecture in its final phase. "The architectural work may strike us as mediocre," writes one recent critic, "[it] hardly stands comparison with the deservedly famous mosaics and frescoes of the interior."[7] This investigation will attempt to prove the opposite: that the fourteenth-century architecture of the Kariye Camii is the product of the same aesthetic as that which is evident in the decoration. What appears to the modern viewer as an incongruous juxtaposition of components was the result of a unified planning scheme and a single building project, and represents one of the pivotal monuments for the understanding of Late Byzantine architecture.

The following study has three major objectives: (1) to provide a detailed structural history of the building through an analysis of the archeological and historical information available, discussing the aspects of planning evident in the various phases of construction; (2) to provide an architectural analysis of the existing monument, the largest portion of which dates from ca. 1316–21, in terms of planning, structural, and decorative concepts evident in the building; and (3) to determine the place of the Kariye Camii in the architecture of the Palaeologan era through the examination of related contemporary structures in Istanbul and other important centers of the period.

In general, the three major sections of this work follow these objectives. The first chapter examines the history of the monument, concentrating on the major rebuildings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The history and primary sources have been examined before—most recently by Underwood—but will here be reviewed in conjunction with the archeological evidence to give a clearer picture of the early forms of the edifice.[8] Detailed observations can be made concerning the twelfth-century building, as a significant portion of it survives. The second chapter consists of a visual analysis of the existing edifice, examining both the interior spaces and the exterior surfaces. As the building maintains to a large extent its Palaeologan form, this chapter also serves as an introduction to the construction of the *ktētor* (founder) Theodore Metochites. In addition, this analysis will illuminate the history of the fabric and the nature of structural and constructional alterations effected over the centuries. The final chapter examines the Kariye Camii in relation to Late Byzantine architecture, attempting to place it in its milieu. Occasionally the text will diverge from this system of organization in order to avoid repetition and to introduce information at the most appropriate point in the discussion. It is hoped that through such an examination a clearer understanding of Palaeologan architecture will be formed, and that the Kariye Camii will emerge in a more positive light, as one of the major monuments of Byzantine architecture.

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[7] C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1974), 269–71.

[8] Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 3–17.

Our analysis of the architecture of the Kariye Camii owes much to the pioneering work of Professor P. A. Underwood and the Byzantine Institute of America. For this reason—and to facilitate cross-reference with the four previous volumes on the building—the terminology used in our discussion follows that employed by Underwood. This includes the names of individual rooms, the number of bays, and the designation of tombs. The only exception is the name of the building, for which the Modern Turkish spelling of *Camii* (Mosque) was found to be preferable to the French spelling of *Djami.* Both are pronounced the same, as the Turkish *c* is equivalent to the English *j.*

The Chora in Post-Byzantine Times

As the Kariye Camii underwent several restorations of some drastic consequences in the late nineteenth century, prior to the monographs of Shmit and Rüdell, the information provided by early visitors to Constantinople is important to our understanding of the building. Therefore, it is useful to begin our study by examining the later history of the monument.

There is scant mention of the Chora Monastery in late Byzantine times: Theodore Metochites' student, the historian Nicephorus Gregoras, passed his life in the monastery, and for several years during the hesychast controversy he was imprisoned there.[9] Of the numerous Russian pilgrims who visited Constantinople in Palaeologan times, only Alexander the Clerk mentions the Chora, noting that the monastery housed the relics of Michael Syncellus.[10] When Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, the Chora is said to have been the first Christian sanctuary to be taken over by the infidel.[11] The icon of the Virgin Hodegitria had been taken to the Chora, from which it was paraded around the walls in the final siege of the city. Upon breaking through the Adrianople Gate, Mehmet's troops are said to have gone directly to the Chora and to have cut the sacred image to pieces.[12]

The church was converted to a mosque between 1495 and 1511 by the Grand Vizier Hadım Ali Paşa, and its original Christian dedication was slowly forgotten.[13] It was last

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[9] Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia,* passim; see also Van Millingen, 301–2.

[10] G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,* Dumbarton Oaks Studies 19 (Washington, D.C., 1984), 162–63 and note 22.

[11] M.(?) Ducas, *Historia Turco-Byzantina,* XXXIX, 15; ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), p. 363; also annotated translation by H. J. Magoulias, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks* (Detroit, 1975), p. 225.

[12] Ducas, *Historia,* XXXIX, 15.

[13] Hâfiz Hüseyin Ayvansarayı, *Hadıkat ül-Cevâmi'* (1779; 2nd ed., Istanbul, 1865), no. 334; trans. J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (Budapest, 1828), IX, 77–78. The conversion may have followed the great earthquake known as the *Küçük Kiyâmet* of August 1509; see H. Inalcık, "İstanbul," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (new ed., Leiden, 1978), IV, 237–38.

mentioned by Petrus Gyllius, a naturalist on a scientific mission for François I, who visited the building between 1544 and 1547.[14] Gyllius described the edifice as girdled on three sides by porticoes. He provides a lengthy description of the marble revetments of the interior, but does not mention the mosaics.[15] This omission, in conjunction with the thoroughness of Gyllius' descriptions elsewhere, have led numerous scholars to suggest that the mosaics and frescoes had been covered at this early date. A century later Charles du Fresne Du Cange provided a history of the monastery based primarily on Byzantine texts. Although he quotes Gyllius, he nevertheless regarded the location of the monastery as uncertain.[16] The works of Gyllius and Du Cange were to provide a basis of information on the Kariye for the next several centuries.

Stephan Gerlach, chaplain for the Viennese ambassador, also visited the Chora, in February 1578, after it had been converted to a mosque. He was apparently unaware of the original dedication and identified it as the church *tēs Aetiou* in his *Tage-Buch.*[17] The church was visited following the Monastery of St. John in Petra and on the way to the House of Raoul—probably the Bogdan Saray. The name given by Gerlach must derive from the Cistern of Aetius presumably passed along the way.[18] His lengthy and detailed description is not generally associated with the Chora. Van Millingen considered and rejected this association, finding too many discrepancies between Gerlach's account and the existing building. Instead, he identified the church *tēs Aetiou* as the Monastery of Manuel (Kefeli Mescidi).[19] However, Gerlach recorded the monograms of Metochites from the exterior of the building, which he did not understand. When the monograms were uncovered, beginning in the 1930s, the proper identification of his text was assured.[20]

Gerlach was told by his guide that a large monastery, with houses for teachers and students, had existed on the site, but other than the church, all that remained at the time of his visit was the ruin of the gate and a dry cistern, used by the Jews for the preparation of silk.[21] According to Gerlach, the church was preceded by a broad court-

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[14] P. Gyllius, *De Constantinopoleos topographia et de illius antiquitatibus libri quatuor* (Lyons, 1561), IV, iv, 201. The text is also found in Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches,* 304 note 1.

[15] Gyllius, IV, iv, 201.

[16] Ch. du Fresne Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana seu descriptio urbis Constantinopolitanae qualis extit sub imperatoribus christianis ex variis scriptoribus contexta et adornata libri quatuor* (Paris, 1680), IV, xv, 5.

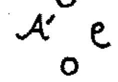
[17] *Stephan Gerlachs dess Aeltern Tage-Buch* (Frankfurt, 1674), 455–56; see also R. Ousterhout, "A Sixteenth-Century Visitor to the Chora," *DOP* 39 (1985), 117–24, for a fuller discussion.

[18] Janin, *Géographie,* I, iii, 442–43, for the identification of the House of Raoul.

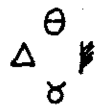
[19] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches,* 255 note 5.

[20] As discerned by A. M. Schneider, *Byzanz: Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archäologie der Stadt* (Berlin, 1936), 31; and confirmed by Schneider, "Archäologische Funde," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1940), 591–92, with the uncovering of one of the monograms. See also C. Mango, "Byzantine Inscriptions of Constantinople: A Bibliographical Survey," *American Journal of Archaeology* 55 (1957), 61. The monogram of Theodoros, Fig. 131 of the present study, was read by Gerlach as [a] and by Schneider as [b] rather than [c]. The second monogram recorded by Gerlach was apparently not uncovered at the time of Schneider's examination. What Gerlach recorded as [d] must be [e], the monogram of Metochites (Fig. 132).

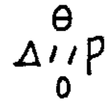
[21] Probably located to the south of the building, where Rüdell, *Kahrie-Dschamisi,* pl. 1, recorded the remains of a Byzantine wall; a dry cistern survived until recently near the same spot, about 60 m south of the southwest corner of the Kariye, above Kariye Bostan Sokak. For illustration, see Ousterhout, "Sixteenth-Century Visitor," fig. 3.



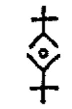
[a]



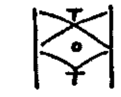
[b]



[c]



[d]



[e]

yard and was surrounded on three sides by a covered passage or *porticus*.[22] The *porticus* was decorated with mosaics and marble revetments, including the portraits of the founder and his wife, described in detail.[23] As to the building, Gerlach described it as comprising four parts, entered by two high doors. The first part is the *porticus*, decorated with marble revetments and paintings in the vaults; this must refer to the narthexes. The second part, the church proper, was covered by Turkish carpets and had a single portal; its dome was entirely gilded and painted, and the walls were revetted with marble. This surely describes the naos, indicating that its mosaics survived well into the sixteenth century. Through a low passage one then entered the third part of the church, where the founder and other portraits were painted in gold; the vaults here were lower than the previous chamber. Here Gerlach must be referring to the parecclesion, entered from the naos through passageway B. The final portion of the church is described as a rather dark place, vaulted and painted, with many small windows. This is probably the so-called diaconicon, which was accessible only from the parecclesion and which may have served as a separate chapel. Outside the church, Gerlach noted the monograms mentioned earlier, as well as the spot where the last Byzantine emperor was killed in the siege of 1453. Gerlach apparently did not examine the north annex or the prothesis; nevertheless, he gives a good indication of the state of the Chora in the sixteenth century, particularly concerning the survival of the mosaics and frescoes. It is indeed curious that Gyllius passes over these in silence, while lavishing his attention on the revetments.

Additional information on the monastery *tēs Aetiou* is found in M. Crusius' *Turcograeciae libri octo* of 1578, based on a letter from Stephan Gerlach.[24] Gerlach positioned the building between St. John in Petra and the Palace of Constantine—that is, the Tekfur Saray—as all three could be seen from a house near the Pammakaristos Monastery, to the southeast. In addition, Gerlach clearly indicated that at this time the building was used for Moslem worship. This information is repeated by Du Cange, perpetuating Gerlach's misidentification.[25]

Little is known of the Chora during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The fountain to the west of the building was constructed by Mustafa ağa in 1668. A school and a soup kitchen for the poor were established in 1746 by Kızlarağası Beşir ağa to the immediate north of the building.[26] The Kariye was restored in 1766, probably after sustaining earthquake damage in that year.[27] The dome of the naos may have been

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[22] The *porticus* was also noted by Gyllius, *De Constantinopoleos*, IV, iv, 219; this architectural feature must surround the church, not the courtyard, as Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 259, mistranslates; this is clarified by Gerlach later in the same passage: "Der bedeckte Gang und die Kirche sind ein Gebau (porticus muro etiam templi continetur)"; Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 455–56.

[23] This may be a conflation of the dedicatory portrait and the Deesis mosaic; in any case, the garments described do not correspond specifically with any one image; see Ousterhout, "Sixteenth-Century Visitor," 120–21.

[24] M. Crusius, *Turcograeciae libri octo* (Basil, 1578), 190–91.

[25] Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana*, IV, viii, 4; Janin, *Géographie*, I, iii, 321, states simply that the Monastery of Aetius never existed.

[26] As above, note 13; also W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), 162.

[27] Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 162.

replaced at that time. Such information is scanty at best, but suggests some interest in the building under Turkish rule.

Van Millingen recorded the "official" rediscovery of the Chora in 1860 by the Greek architect Pelopidas D. Kuppas, who informed the British Consulate, whence spread the news.[28] Van Millingen reports that at that time the building was in pitiful condition: the principal dome and the dome of the diaconicon were said to have fallen in. The damage may not have been as extensive as reported; in addition, the building had been known to scholars for almost a century and had been illustrated several times.

The first modern reference to the building is actually Turkish. Hâfiz Hüseyin Ayvansarayı included the Kariye in his *Hadıkat ül-Cevâmi'* (Garden of Mosques) of 1779, noting that it was originally a church.[29] Although he sketches the Turkish history of the building, he does not indicate the original dedication. This was first determined by the indefatigable French traveler and scholar Jean-Baptiste Lechevalier in 1785–86. Armed with the works of Gyllius and Du Cange, he systematically examined the city. He wrote: "P. Gilles dit que l'église appelée Christos-i-Choras se trouvoit vers la porte d'Adrianople dans l'enceinte de la quatorzième région: mais comme les turcs en la changeant en mosquée ont aussi changé son nom, ce n'a été qu'après beaucoup de recherches que je suis venu à bout de la découvrir. Elle est connue aujourd'hui sous le nom de Kahkriedgiami."[30]

Apparently, a number of the mosaics were visible at this early date, including the portrait of Metochites. Lechevalier also accompanied François Kauffer as he plotted out the first modern map of the city in 1785–86. The map lists the historical buildings and sites, including the Kariye.[31]

A correct identification of the building was also given by the diplomat and orientalist Josef von Hammer-Purgstall in 1822, who called it "Kariye Dschamissi, d.i. die Moschee des Zwanges," noting that the name is a corruption of the Greek *tēs Chōras*.[32] He was aware of the history of the building, having at his disposal the writings of Gyllius, Du Cange, and A. Banduri, as well as the map made by Kauffer, which he included with his study. He identified several of the mosaics, including the donor portrait of Metochites.[33] Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* of 1828 contains a translation of the *Hadıkat ül-Cevâmi'*, and this may have been another source for his knowledge of the Kariye.[34]

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[28] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 304.

[29] See above, note 13.

[30] J.-B. Lechevalier, *Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin* (Paris, 1800), II, 264–65; also Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine*, 194–96.

[31] Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine*, 193. The plan was later included in a number of studies, including J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos* (Budapest, 1822), end of vol. I.

[32] Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinopolis*, I, 383. Ç. Gülersoy, *Kariye (Chora)* (Istanbul, 1980), 6, suggests that the enigmatic church converted to a mosque, described by Dallaway in the late 18th century, was the Kariye. The building had four domes, marble revetments, extensive mosaics, and a portrait of the donor presenting a model of the church to Christ; see J. Dallaway, *Constantinople, ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1795), I, 112. This is more likely to have been the Pantokrator Monastery, which seems to have preserved its mosaics and marbles through the end of the 18th century and would have fit the same description. The location given by Dallaway as the fourth hill would also favor the Pantokrator. Note the similar description by Cosimo Comídas de Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica dello stato presente di Costantinopoli* (Bassano, 1794), 30, of what is certainly the Pantokrator. See also Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 220–21.

[33] Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinopolis*, I, 383.

Patriarch Constantius also correctly identified the building about the same time.[35] His notice on the church included one of Metochites' monograms from the southwest corner of the exterior, also seen by Gerlach several centuries earlier. Although Constantius copied the monogram incorrectly, he nevertheless identified it as that of Theodore Metochites.[36]

The study by Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos,* was known to Charles Texier, who apparently carried a French translation of it when he surveyed the monuments of the city in 1833–35.[37] Few of the results of this extensive survey were published. The Kariye was not included in his *Byzantine Architecture* of 1864, although two rather inexact plans of the building survive from the survey, now in the archives of the Royal Institute of British Architects in London (Figs. 29–30).[38]

The first published illustration of the Chora appeared in 1840 in W. Brunet de Presle's history of Greece.[39] An engraved view of the west facade, identified only as the "Église dite la Maison de la Vierge à Constantinople," is included, but is not mentioned in the text (Fig. 31). The drawing, signed by A. Lenoir, is not very exact: the proportions are wrong, and the north annex and parecclesion dome are completely missing; it is evident, however, that at this early date the main dome had been altered and had lost its scalloped cornice, while the narthex domes had not. Several of the engravings by Lenoir that appeared in Brunet de Presle's work reappeared in slightly altered form in Lenoir's own *Architecture monastique* of 1852.[40] This includes several views of the Kariye, correctly identified as Monē tēs Chōras. The view of the west facade (Fig. 32) is obviously based on the earlier engraving, but has been redrawn to eliminate all irregularities; the result is almost pure fantasy. A view of the flying buttress that supports the apse (Fig. 33) and a detail of the south facade entrance (Fig. 34) were also included. Various elements of the architecture were discussed individually by Lenoir, but the building was not dealt with as a whole.

The Kariye was also identified and mentioned briefly by D. Byzantios and W. Salzenberg in the 1850s.[41] Thus it appears that the building was known, in scholarly circles at least, prior to its "official" rediscovery in 1860. After this time, however, an active interest in the Kariye developed.

The two most significant early publications on the building appeared in the 1870s. A. G. Paspatēs (1877) gives a long discussion of the history of the monastery based on

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[34] Above, note 13.

[35] Kōnstantinias, *Palaia te kai neotera ētoi perigraphē Kōnstantinoupoleōs* (Venice, 1824), 81–84; translated as Konstantios, *Constantiniade, ou description de Constantinople ancienne et moderne* (Constantinople, 1846), 102–5.

[36] Ibid.; see also C. Mango, "Byzantine Inscriptions," 61.

[37] C. Mango, "Constantinopolitana," *JDAI* 80 (1965), 315–17.

[38] C. Texier and R. P. Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture* (London, 1864).

[39] W. Brunet de Presle, *Grèce depuis la conquête romaine jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1840), fig. 16.

[40] A. Lenoir, *Architecture monastique* (Paris, 1852), figs. 177, 188, 208.

[41] D. Byzantios, *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis. Perigraphē topographikē, archaiologikē kai historikē* (Athens, 1851), 366–68; W. Salzenberg, *Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel* (Berlin, 1854), 36.

Byzantine texts and earlier authors, and his illustration of the west facade is the most exact of the early representations of the building, perhaps based on a photograph (Fig. 35).[42] D. Pulgher (1878) presented the first significant study to focus on the architecture of the Kariye, unlike earlier authors who based their discussions on an examination of the historical texts.[43] His study included the first published plan (Fig. 36), several sections, views of the west and north facades (Figs. 37–38), and a variety of details (Fig. 39). The proportions of his drawings often are inexact; some details appear to be the product of his imagination, and his historical information is frequently incorrect. However, he appears to have appreciated the building for what it was; describing the building's irregularities, he wrote: "et par sa byzarrerie même, est agréable à voir."[44]

These early illustrations of the Kariye take on an added importance because of the restorations of the late nineteenth century which altered many aspects of the building. One early photograph, also ca. 1860, has recently come to light (Fig. 40).[45] The works of Paspatēs and Pulgher probably predate but were published after the restoration of the building conducted under Abdul Aziz in 1875–76. At that time the Evkaf Administration gave the building over to its official rediscoverer, Kuppas, and the mosaics were cleaned and left uncovered.[46] The drastic alterations to the exterior of the building that occurred at this time are not discussed in any surviving text. After this time the building received much notice, but attention focused almost exclusively on the mosaic decorations.[47]

The building suffered severely in the earthquake of 1894, and the Turkish minaret collapsed at that time.[48] The building was said to have been in danger of falling down and was closed for a period. It was restored in 1898 by Abdul Hamid for the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II.

In 1929 a partial restoration was undertaken by the Evkaf Administration, during which the mosaic of the Koimesis was uncovered in the naos, and some Turkish additions were removed from the interior.[49] Declared a national monument in 1945, the building was secularized and converted to a museum under the administration of the Ayasofya Museum. On the invitation of the Turkish government, the Byzantine Institute of America and Dumbarton Oaks undertook a thorough program of cleaning and restoration, beginning in 1947 and lasting until 1958; the work was directed first by

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[42] A. G. Paspatēs, *Byzantinai meletai topographikai kai historikai meta pleistōn eikonōn* (Constantinople, 1877), 326–32.

[43] D. Pulgher, *Les anciennes églises byzantines de Constantinople* (Vienna, 1878), 31–40; pls. 16–30.

[44] Ibid., 31.

[45] The photograph was first published by Çelik Gülersoy, "Kariye," *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 1, no. 2 (1978), 18, who kindly made it available to the author.

[46] G. Young, *Constantinople* (London, 1926), 89; also Rüdell, *Kahrie-Dschamisi*, 24, and C. Diehl, *Études byzantines* (Paris, 1905), 396.

[47] Most notable among these is N. P. Kondakov, *Mozaiki Mecheti Kakhrie-dzhamisi v Konstantinopole* (Odessa, 1881).

[48] Diehl, *Études*, 396 note 1. D. Coufopoulos, *A Guide to Constantinople*, Black's Guide Books (London, 1910), 72; Young, *Constantinople*, 89; Rüdell, *Kahrie-Dschamisi*, 24.

[49] M. Schede, "Archäologische Funde," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1929), 343; H. E. del Medico, "La mosaïque de la *Koimesis* à Kahrie Djami," *Byzantion* 7 (1932), 123–41.

Thomas Whittemore and, after his death in 1950, by Paul Underwood.[50] The results of this project have already been noted and will be discussed at length in this study.

In recent years the building and, indeed, the entire neighborhood have come under the influence of the Touring and Automobile Club of Turkey and its director, Mr. Çelik Gülersoy. They have been responsible for the maintenance of the Kariye, including the replastering of the upper portion of the building as well as the landscaping and gardens around it and the renovation of homes in the general vicinity.[51] Their efforts have not only created a pleasant environment for the visitor, but have made the Kariye Camii the object of local pride and the focal point of the neighborhood. It is hoped that the efforts of Mr. Gülersoy will serve as an example for future historical preservation work in Istanbul.

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[50] E. Hawkins, "The Conservation of the Mosaics at the Kariye Camii," *Studies in Conservation* 5 (1960), 102–7. An element of continuity in the Byzantine Institute's work at the Kariye was provided by the presence of Nicolas Kluge, who had assisted Shmit on the Russian publication of 1906. Kluge was a member of the team that began the cleaning of the mosaics in August 1947; he died less than two months later. His daybook from the 1947 season is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Archives.

[51] Gülersoy, *Kariye (Chora)*, 56–64; idem, *Edirnekapısı'nda Bir Örnek* (Istanbul, 1985).

CHAPTER 1

The Byzantine History of the Kariye Camii

The present, irregular form of the Kariye Camii is primarily the result of the rebuilding undertaken by Theodore Metochites ca. 1316–21. The core of the edifice is older, however, as was determined by the limited excavations conducted by the Byzantine Institute of America in 1957–58.[1] Foundations dated to the sixth and ninth centuries created an artificial terrace on the sloping site, upon which a church was constructed in the Comnenian period. While the oldest portions of the superstructure can be dated to the eleventh century, the church evidently was reconstructed in the twelfth (Figs. 8–12). The single-aisled, cruciform naos, extended to the east by a broad bema, was the result of the twelfth-century endeavor, and this unit was maintained in Metochites' architectural program. Its dome had apparently collapsed, and this was reconstructed by Metochites. The pastophoria were also rebuilt at this time: the prothesis connected directly to the bema, while the so-called diaconicon was accessible only from the parecclesion to the south. In addition, Metochites added ancillary chambers surrounding the core of the building on three sides. These included a two-storied addition on the north flank, known as the northern annex; its lower chamber is referred to as passageway A. To the south, a domed parecclesion, or funerary chapel, was added; this chamber connected with the naos by means of passageway B. To the east and west of this passageway are small chambers, here identified as the oratory and the storeroom; above these is a functionless and inaccessible gallery. To the west of the naos, an irregular, twin-domed esonarthex and an open, arcaded exonarthex were added. The latter originally included a belfry over the southwest corner. A flying buttress was also appended to the east, intended to provide additional support for the bema apse on the unstable terrain. All of Metochites' additions were the result of a single building campaign.

The accepted view of the structural history of the Kariye Camii was drastically revised following the archeological campaigns of 1957–58. The substructures of the building proved to be considerably younger than the traditional founding date, and the form of the naos, previously attributed to a seventh-century plan, was convincingly redated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In addition, the contribution of Theodore Metochites was clarified. The survey broke the history of the building into five periods of construction (Figs. 11–12).

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[1] D. Oates, "A Summary Report on the Excavations of the Byzantine Institute in the Kariye Camii: 1957 and 1958," *DOP* 14 (1960), 223–31. The terminology used in our discussion of the architecture follows that employed by Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 3–16.

Phase I–II. Dated to the sixth and ninth centuries respectively, work from the early periods appears only in the substructures of the eastern end of the building, giving little indication of its form or function.

Phase III. The construction of ca. 1077–81 is attributed to Maria Ducaena and includes much of the main body of the church, rectangular in form, and probably with a cross-in-square plan.

Phase IV. The drastic alteration of the form of the building of ca. 1120 is attributed to the sebastokrator Isaac Comnenus; the east end of the Phase III construction was entirely rebuilt, and the form of the naos was changed to an atrophied Greek cross plan, covered by a large dome.

Phase V. Theodore Metochites, *ktētor* of the monastery, restored the church ca. 1316–21, adding a variety of subsidiary chambers, as noted above. In addition, he provided the majority of the interior decoration.

A sixth phase was also identified by the excavators, constituting later Byzantine modifications to Metochites' building. The phasing was based on limited excavations, conducted primarily at the eastern end of the building, and was restricted by the amount of interior surface decoration which survived. We have, therefore, a rather scanty picture of the early history of the building. The major construction periods will be discussed in this chapter. As the early construction had a certain influence on the size and form of the surviving edifice, the early phases will be clarified in order to set the stage for the major rebuilding of the fourteenth century.

Phase I and the Early History

According to Symeon Metaphrastes, the site of the Chora Monastery was first consecrated for the interment of St. Babylas and his eighty-four disciples, martyred in 298 and brought to the city of Byzantion shortly thereafter.[2] The name of the monastery, *Chōra,* also suggests an early founding, referring to the country, or a landed estate; the site was outside the Constantinian walls of the city and quite near, but inside, the fifth-century Theodosian walls. An eleventh-century writer referred to it in this sense, explaining that the church once stood outside the walls, in *chōrion.*[3] Later the name is used in a mystical sense: Christ is referred to as the *Chōra* (dwelling place) of the living, and the Virgin as the *Chōra* (container) of the Uncontainable; such inscriptions appear in the fourteenth-century mosaics of the church. It seems that the name was originally applied to the monastery as a toponym, and that the mystical interpretation was introduced later.[4]

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[2] The primary sources for the early history of the Chora have been recently analyzed by Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 3–8, and Janin, *Géographie,* I, iii, 531–38. Their conclusions are briefly summarized here. See also Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches,* 288–303. The identity of St. Babylas may be confused; see Underwood, I, 4.

[3] Janin, *Géographie,* I, iii, 531; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches,* 290.

[4] Janin, I, iii, 531–33; Van Millingen, 288–90; Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 4–6.

In the fourteenth century Nicephorus Gregoras claimed that the church was originally founded by Justinian as a basilica, but receives no support in his assertion from Procopius, who wrote at length on Justinian's building program.[5] The ninth-century account of the life of a certain St. Theodore also suggests a sixth-century foundation, claiming the church to have been built by Theodore, a relative of Empress Theodora; this church is said to have been destroyed by the earthquake of 557 and rebuilt by Justinian.[6] The *Patria of Constantinople,* probably our most reliable source, however, attributes the foundation of the Chora to Crispus, the son-in-law of Emperor Phocas, who was forced to retire to a monastery after political intrigues. According to this, the founding would fall in the seventh century.[7] Shmit suggested that St. Theodore and Crispus were one and the same, as certain facts in their lives correspond. The various traditions of foundation, however, may have resulted from a confusion of the restorations and reestablishments of the monastery by new *ktētores* in different periods.[8]

The few remains of the early Byzantine period surviving at the site are found only in the substructures at the east end of the building, where the ground level drops sharply, and some artificial terracing would have been necessary. The primary surviving features are the remains of a great arcaded wall, extending from north to south, from which two brick arches survive with a span of ca. 4.35 m each (Figs. 6, 16, 41, 135).[9] The arches rest on composite brick and limestone piers, the positions of which are indicated on the archeological plan, and which are visible from the exterior (Fig. 44). The springings of outer arches still survive, indicating that the arcade originally extended further to the north and south. Remains of another, much less massive wall were excavated 1.40 m to the east. A third wall, also parallel, was discovered to the west, below the present building, about 3.0 m to the west of the arcade; this wall is pierced by two arched openings of different widths, which in no way relate to the arcaded wall.

As only a small portion of the substructures survives, it is impossible to identify the form or function of the building in this phase of construction. In the preliminary report, Oates stressed that it did not resemble a church, let alone the east end of a church.[10] However, there need be little relation between the form of the substructure and that of the superstructure. The arcade simply created a level platform upon which a monastic building could be constructed. Thus the presence of a church on the site in this construction phase should not be ruled out.

It is possible that the substructures of Phase I may have served as a funeral crypt. The descriptions of the sixth-century church of H. Iōannēs Prodromos in Hebdomon mention a crypt below the east end of the church accessible from the exterior from the north and south, and there is also some resemblance between the remains at the Kariye and the forms of the corner units of the cruciform hypogeum at Hebdomon, excavated earlier this century.[11] It is just as likely that the Kariye substructures were designed to be simply substructures, and were converted at a later date for funeral use; none of the tombs discovered in this area dates from Phase I. Before the next period of building activity, however, vaulted tombs were inserted in the substructures: one between the wall arcade and the east wall, to the north of the buttress (Fig. 45); another to the west, below the nave of the church.[12]

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[5] *Byzantina Historia,* IX, 13; *Rhomaïsche Geschichte,* trans. J. L. Van Dieten (Stuttgart, 1973–79), II, 239. See also Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 6; Janin, I, iii, 533.

[6] For text, see Shmit, *Kakhrie-dzhami,* I, 295–301. See also Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 6.

[7] *Patria,* III, 184; Janin, *Géographie,* I, iii, 532–34; also Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 6–7.

[8] Janin, I, iii, 532–33; also Shmit, *Kakhrie-dzhami,* I, 20; Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 6–7.

[9] Oates, "Report," 225–26.

[10] Ibid., 225. The elaborate and confusing substructures of H. Polyeuktos in Istanbul may be called to mind in this respect; see M. Harrison and N. Fıratlı, "Excavations at the Saraçhane in Istanbul. First Preliminary Report," *DOP* 19 (1965), 233. As we shall see, the later phases of construction at the Kariye also bear little relationship to the substructures.

The masonry of this phase suggests a fifth- or sixth-century date. The composite construction of alternating bands of brick and limestone, as well as the flat, squarish bricks, can be favorably compared to the construction at the Hebdomon hypogeum or the substructures of H. Polyeuktos. Oates noted, in addition, that the highly distinctive, slightly convex pointing of the east wall and arcade at the Kariye finds a parallel at H. Eirene and nowhere else in the city, supporting a sixth-century date.[13] Thus, while the *Patria* suggests a seventh-century founding, the archeological evidence supports a sixth-century, possibly Justinianic date for the earliest construction at the Kariye.

Phase II

A second phase of construction relating to the earlier structure can be recognized only in the eastern end of the building. The crown of the south arch of the arcade had fallen and was rebuilt; apparently the earlier structure had suffered considerable damage. The arches of the arcade were blocked, except for a small opening on the axis of each arch, but on a higher level than the Phase I bases (Figs. 16, 41, 135). These openings were probably means of entrance to the substructures whose ground level appears to have risen. The solidifying of the arcade wall was no doubt meant to serve as a terrace wall, strengthened to support a new building on a higher level. The preexisting south arch of the west wall was also reinforced, but access was left to a space further to the west, under the present naos. The long, vaulted tomb chamber was probably added at this time (Figs. 20, 46, 47).[14]

A second, smaller tomb was added above this one at a later date, perhaps with the construction of the next phase (Fig. 48). Both tombs were built of thin bricks set with wide mortar beds, a technique that finds no parallels elsewhere in the building. The upper tomb utilizes the western wall of the Phase I–II construction but is set away from the projecting north wall. Covered by a flat roof, about 1.45 m below the present naos floor level, the upper tomb was found in a disturbed condition, and nothing is known of its original contents. The lower tomb, however, was undisturbed at the time of the discovery. When the rubble fill was cleared from the upper tomb, an air hole was discovered in its floor, connecting with the lower chamber. The lower chamber is rather odd in form, ca. 5.0 m in length. It does not appear to have been a tomb, properly speaking, as no body was discovered in it. Instead, it was probably meant as a loculus for relics; the only objects discovered inside were fragments of bone and grains of wheat.[15] Originally the barrel-vaulted lower tomb was entered through a stone trapdoor in its ceiling, with stone steps set into the wall of the tomb on either side. The lid was not opened, and it is not known whether this connected originally to a floor level immediately above the reliquary tomb or into a shaft to an upper level. The upper tomb, then, was presumably added shortly after the reliquary loculus, and its position oriented in relation to that chamber. It is noteworthy that, at this stage of construction, the tombs appear to relate to a space above them rather than to a crypt level to the east.

There is unfortunately nothing to suggest a form or function for the superstructure and little to indicate a date for this phase of construction. For a tentative chronological placement, the archeologists turned to historical sources. There is little record of the monastery during the period of Iconoclasm; the few indications suggest that the monastery supported the iconodules and did not fare well in this period. After the triumph of Orthodoxy in 843, the great iconodule Michael Syncellus was named abbot of the monastery, ruling until his death in 846. The *Vita S. Michaelis Syncelli* tells that the monastery was restored during his brief rule, but does not detail the extent of the restorations. It is certainly possible that Phase II corresponds with this documented restoration, as Oates suggests.[16] The later buildings on the site follow a plan of the naos determined on three sides by the surviving arcade-terrace wall, with the barrel-vaulted, reliquary tomb centrally positioned under the naos. In the final analysis, however, we can only speculate whether the present building's size and position were determined by the existing foundations, by the position of an important, earlier church, or by the presence of venerated tombs in the substructures.

Phase III: The First Comnenian Church

Again, from the mid-ninth century until the end of the eleventh century, there is no mention of the monastery. The fourteenth-century historian Nicephorus Gregoras, who spent many years in the Chora, wrote that "Time having destroyed (the early church) to its very foundations, the mother-in-law of the emperor Alexius Comnenus erected another church, from its foundations, in the form in which it is now seen, but inasmuch as time was again threatening to destroy it, (Theodore Metochites), with a lavish hand, beautifully restored everything except the innermost naos."[17] Alexius' mother-in-law may be identified as the Bulgarian Maria Ducaena, who figured prominently in the politics of the period. This would suggest a date between 1077, when her daughter became consort to Alexius I, and 1081, when Patriarch Cosmas was buried in the Chora, and by which time the church must have been completed.[18] An examination of the Phase III remains support the attribution to Maria Ducaena.

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[11] T. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, 1971), 55–61; T. Macridy and J. Ebersolt, "Monuments funéraires de Constantinople," *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique* 46 (1922), 363–93.

[12] The outer tomb measured ca. 1.0 by 2.0 m, by 1.50 m high, and was positioned ca. 5.90 m below the present floor level of the church. A second tomb was later inserted above this one; however, it and another tomb below the naos were not documented by the excavators.

[13] Oates, "Report," 226. For additional comparative material, see J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Notes on the Structure and Building Methods of Early Byzantine Architecture," in *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Second Report*, ed. D. Talbot Rice (Edinburgh, 1958), 52–104.

[14] Oates, "Report," 226.

[15] Information from D. Oates; see Fig. 46.

[16] Oates, "Report," 226. For texts, see Shmit, *Kakhrie-dzhami*, 257–58; also Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 7. A Russian pilgrim who visited the monastery in the late 14th century noted the presence of the relics of Michael Syncellus; see Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 162–63.

[17] Above, note 5.

Phase III construction was observed primarily in the lower naos walls, visible only where the revetment could be removed (see Fig. 65, left side). The construction was in the recessed brick technique, with alternate courses of brick recessed and encased in wide mortar beds, which consequently appear considerably wider than the bricks. The pointing is flush, and its edges are scored. As will be discussed below, an identical form of mural construction was employed in Phase IV, and distinctions could be made only when the two were viewed side by side. In both, the mortar is dirty white or pale pink, and the bricks are 3–5 cm thick, while the mortar joints measure 10–12 cm thick.

Recessed brick construction was extremely common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and apparently originated in Constantinople. Most discussion of the technique has been concerned with the date of its appearance: it may have been in use already in the late tenth century and continued in provincial architecture into the Palaeologan era.[19] While it is occasionally regarded as decorative, creating a distinctive, striped surface, it seems more likely that the technique was primarily structural. In Middle Byzantine construction, the wall was normally treated as facing with a rubble core, similar to ancient Roman mural construction. The irregular stacking of bricks in the recessed brick technique would seem to have been intended to create a roughened inner surface which would bond firmly with the rubble core of the wall. Only a small portion of the Phase III construction remains visible at the Kariye. Nevertheless, the use of recessed brick indicates that this phase must date at least after the late tenth century.

Before the Phase III Kariye was constructed, the remains of the previous building were removed, leaving only the substructures at the east end. New foundations were laid for the apse and the pastophoria. The outline of these can be determined from the surviving foundations between the older arcade wall and the substructure wall to the west of it (Figs. 11, 73). The passage to the lower level of the tombs was blocked by the construction.[20] The upper burial chamber under the naos may have been added at this time, as was noted above.

Nothing of the eastern end of the Phase III building survives above the foundation level. The excavations in the bema and pastophoria uncovered traces of the foundations of this period which clearly indicate the plan of a tripartite sanctuary (Figs. 11, 42, 59, 73). The central apse was narrower than the present, twelfth-century apse. The flanking pastophoria appear to have been long and thin, and the overall width of the tripartite sanctuary corresponded to the width of the naos.

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[18] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 295; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 8–10; Oates, "Report," 230.

[19] For the recessed brick technique, see most recently P. L. Vocotopoulos, "The Concealed Course Technique: Further Examples and a Few Remarks," *JÖB* 28 (1979), 247–60, with extensive notes; and G. Velenis, *Hermēneia tou exōterikou diakosmou stē byzantinē architektonikē* (Thessaloniki, 1984), 65 ff.

[20] Oates, "Report," 226.

Large portions of the rising walls of the naos appear to date from this period as well. The excavations exposed traces of Phase III recessed brickwork in the remaining three walls of the naos, indicating that its size and shape were determined in this period.[21] Because of possible damage to the marble revetment, it was not possible to determine the upper limits of the eleventh-century naos walls. Above the cornice, the wall construction is certainly from the next phase. However, in several places the lower wall surface could be securely identified as eleventh-century, sometimes as high as four meters above the present floor level. The south and west walls were identified with some certainty, but the north wall could not be examined except for a small piece of the extreme eastern end, from which the width of the wall could be determined.

Although our picture of the Phase III building is not entirely firm, certain details emerge: the external wall surfaces were enlivened by pilasters; these may have corresponded with the internal structural system, as was common in Middle Byzantine architecture. Responds are visible in the east end foundations (Fig. 73) and in the north wall fragment. In addition, the west wall probably had a triple entrance. The jamb of the south door was discovered in the wall of the south bay of the narthex, behind the present Deesis mosaic; this door was blocked in the next construction phase when the corner piers of the naos were added. It is likely that there was a north door in a similar position, but that area could not be examined because of the revetments in situ. The present north door was added at a later date, breaking through the Phase III wall.[22] No attempt was made to locate the foundations of the original narthex, although they may have been in much the same position as the present narthex.

Other openings may be identified as well. The end of the north wall, examined through fractures in the west wall of the prothesis, appears to have been a finished surface, probably the jamb of a door or a window, opening from the Phase III prothesis to the exterior. On the south side of the naos, a large opening was discovered, in the position of the present passageway and oratory between the naos and parecclesion. The position of the south jamb is secure, as is the thickness of the wall. Even a bit of the detail survives; a recessed jamb is set in slightly from the exterior wall surface (Fig. 97). The position of the opposite jamb is not as secure; the wall to the east was broken and repaired in the next phase.

Thus far, the form of the Phase III building is fairly secure, but one perplexing bit of evidence compounds the picture. A fragment of a Phase III wall stands to cornice height in the storeroom between the nave and parecclesion, imbedded between walls of later construction. The wall is hacked back at its eastern extreme; its western limit is buried in the fourteenth-century wall. Its northern surface, now abutting a Phase IV wall section, was the original interior wall surface, and a fragment of its cornice still survives, "virtually identical" to the present naos cornice, as Oates indicated (Figs. 100–101).[23] Oates interpreted this wall to represent the southern extreme of an outer aisle or lateral narthex. However, this small piece of masonry is the only evidence for an outer aisle. Oates also suggested that the external pilasters of the foundation walls were the jambs for arches to support the outer aisles, and that the opening in the south wall of the naos and its presumed symmetrical counterpart to the north were designed to provide access to the outer aisles from the naos.[24] According to this interpretation, the plan of the Phase III Kariye would have been similar to the so-called "five aisle" plan that N. Brunov proposed for other Middle Byzantine churches of the capital.[25] The form and function—and, indeed, the existence—of these lateral spaces is by no means certain in any of the examples cited by Brunov, and the evidence at the Kariye is too scanty to base a solid argument on it. There is no evidence for an opening in the northern wall; the south opening may not have had a symmetrical counterpart. In addition, there is no indication that the pilasters supported an outer aisle. A limited excavation in the north annex to a depth of almost two meters failed to uncover additional foundations for the proposed outer aisle.[26]

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[21] Ibid., 227; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 11. See also H. Belting, "Eine Gruppe konstantinopler Reliefs aus dem 11. Jahrhundert," *Pantheon* 30 (1972), 263–71.

[22] Oates, "Report," 226–28.

[23] Oates, "Report," 227, does not account for the similarity; see also Ø. Hjort, "The Sculpture of the Kariye Camii," *DOP* 33 (1979), 237.

Another problem posed by the small section of Phase III wall in the storeroom is the position of the cornice on its north surface. In this position the wall section should have corresponded with a pilaster at the west corner of the south naos wall. The position of the cornice suggests that the narthex and the south lateral space opened freely into each other rather than being closed off by a portal. In any case, whatever the form of the lateral space, we simply have too little evidence to suggest a solution.

Van Millingen and Shmit postulated that the church of Maria Ducaena had large, arched openings at either side, along the lines of H. Sophia in Thessaloniki, built ca. 783, or the Koimesis church at Nicaea, dated before 730. They believed that the Chora of this period followed the lines of the seventh-century church of Crispus.[27] As the excavations have demonstrated, the resemblance is fortuitous, and the cross-domed plan is the result of the next building phase. The arched opening in the south wall, on which Van Millingen based his reconstruction of the wall elevation, is also later in date, and, as noted, there is no evidence for a corresponding opening on the north side.

The proportions of the Phase III naos, as well as the tripartite division of the sanctuary, suggest that Maria Ducaena's church was of the cross-in-square type. In this type of church, common in Middle Byzantine architecture, the naos is divided into nine bays, with four columns supporting a central dome.[28] Confirmation of this theory would lie in the foundations of the naos. A cross-in-square church would have required either a

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[24] Oates, "Report," 226 ff.

[25] Outer aisles have been proposed for the Kalenderhane Camii, the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, the Pantepoptes, and the south church of the Pantokrator, all in Istanbul; see N. Brunov, "L'église à croix inscrite à cinq nefs dans l'architecture byzantine," *Echos d'Orient* 26 (1927), 257–86; idem, "Die fünfschiffige Kreuzkuppelkirche in der byzantinischen Baukunst," *BZ* 23 (1927), 63–98; idem, "Zum Problem des Kreuzkuppelsystems," *JÖB* 16 (1967), 245–61. Brunov's views have been criticized by A. H. S. Megaw, "The Original Form of the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips," *DOP* 18 (1964), 279–99, esp. 298–99.

[26] Information from E. Hawkins.

[27] Shmit, *Kakhrie-dzhami*, I, 111; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, figs. 102–3.

[28] R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1979), 544.

gridwork of foundations or massive supporting piers below the critical points.[29] However, the survival of the fourteenth-century marble floor eliminated the possibility of excavations in the naos. While the general outline of the building is clear, numerous details of its form must remain speculative.

H. Belting has proposed an ingenious reconstruction of the first Comnenian church with the four reused columns and capitals from bay 6 of the exonarthex supporting the central dome of a cross-in-square church.[30] The solution suggests that the four capitals, decorated with images of angels, belong together, and that this grouping would fit iconographically with an image of Christ Pantokrator in the dome. However, the dating for the capitals is by no means certain, and with only a short time interval between the Phase III and Phase IV construction, the capitals could just as easily have belonged to the later construction.[31] It should also be noted that such an iconographic relationship of capitals and dome decoration is unknown in Middle Byzantine art, and, as Ø. Hjort has pointed out, it is unlikely that such finely carved capitals would have been left lying around for the two intervening centuries before their reuse in ca. 1330.[32] Thus it seems more likely that the capitals came from elsewhere.

A hypothetical plan of the Phase III church may be put forth.[33] Two points must be taken with consideration in the reconstruction. First, it is common in Middle Byzantine church architecture for the external articulation to correspond to the internal structural divisions. Second, the proportions of Constantinopolitan cross-in-square churches are usually such that the sanctuary is elongated, while the naos tends toward square. The corner compartments of the naos are normally squarish or wider than they are long. These features may be seen at the Theotokos of Lips, dated 907, the Myrelaion, dated 920, Christos ho Pantepoptēs, ca. 1081–87 (Fig. 156), the Kilise Camii, ca. 1100 (Fig. 161), and the north and south churches at the Pantokrator Monastery, built between 1118 and 1136 (Fig. 159).[34]

Perhaps the best indication for the eleventh-century form of the Kariye is given by a comparison with Christos ho Pantepoptēs, now known as the Eski İmaret Camii, constructed by Anna Dalassena, mother of Alexius I, ca. 1081–87 (Fig. 156).[35] The only securely dated, surviving eleventh-century building in the capital, the construction of Alexius' mother is nearly contemporaneous with that of his mother-in-law at the Chora. The similarities go far beyond this family relationship. The overall measurements are almost identical: the naos of the Kariye measures 9.88 by 14.92 m, while the naos of the

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[29] Note, for example, the substructures of the Pantepoptes or the Myrelaion in Istanbul; see P. Forchheimer and J. Strzygowski, *Die byzantinischen Wasserbehälter von Konstantinopel* (Vienna, 1893), 106–7; Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 377–80, pl. 309.

[30] Belting, "Gruppe," 263–71.

[31] For dating, see Hjort, "Sculpture," 244–46.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Our version is somewhat different than that proposed by Belting, "Gruppe," figs. 1–3.

[34] For plans, see Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, figs. 44, 66, 73, as well as Figs. 146, 149, and 151 of the present study.

[35] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 212–18; J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913), 171–82.

Pantepoptes measures 9.98 by 14.60 m.[36] The bema of the Phase III Kariye was slightly wider than that of the Pantepoptes, and, as reconstructed, the tripartite east end of the Kariye would also be slightly longer (Fig. 42). But the similarities of the two buildings outweigh the differences: both were constructed of recessed brick with the exterior articulated by a system of responds; both had a large opening in the central bay of the south side.

The limited remains of the Phase III Kariye do not allow us to extend this hypothetical reconstruction beyond the plan. Given our present knowledge, it is not possible to reconstruct the form of the narthex. The marked similarities with the church of the Pantepoptes, however, reinforce the attribution of Phase III to Maria Ducaena, as well as the date of ca. 1080. Thus, in spite of our limited knowledge of this phase of construction, we are in a position to add new information to the picture of architecture in eleventh-century Constantinople.

Phase IV: The Second Comnenian Church

The form of the naos of the Chora was radically altered shortly after the late eleventh-century construction, being transformed from a cross-in-square church to a cruciform plan with a considerably larger dome supported on corner piers. The recessed brick technique of this construction phase is virtually indistinguishable from the previous phase and suggests a chronological closeness that makes the extent of the rebuilding difficult to explain. Much of the superstructure of the naos was apparently retained below the present cornice level, but the eastern end of the church was completely replaced (Figs. 11–12). Only the foundations were left in the sanctuary, and, except for the main apse, the area was filled with mortared rubble. The present, larger apse was constructed at this time, closer in width to that of the nave. New pastophoria were added. These have not survived, but were probably similar in size and position to the present, fourteenth-century pastophoria, extending beyond the width of the naos.[37] Presumably the reconstruction also included a narthex to the west, and evidence suggests that an annexed chapel existed to the south of the naos.

Again we must turn to the history of the period in order to suggest chronological placement for this building phase. There is no record of a reconstruction. As we have seen, Nicephorus Gregoras mentions only the work of the mother-in-law of Alexius, and of Metochites. A clue may be provided by the fourteenth-century Deesis mosaic in the inner narthex (Fig. 110). At the foot of the Virgin kneels a figure identified as the sebastokrator Isaac Comnenus, the third son of Alexius and the grandson of Maria Ducaena. His presence in the mosaics of Theodore Metochites suggests that he played an important role in the history of the church. Besides Metochites, only two historical personages are represented in the decorative program: Isaac and the nun Melanie, probably a relative of Andronicus II.[38] As both these figures appear in a monumental representation of Christ and the Virgin, to whom the church was dedicated, Underwood suggests that they represent the predecessors of Metochites as founder, or *ktētor*, of the monastery, the role later assumed by Metochites.[39] The suggestion makes sense: the role of *ktētor* and proprietary rights to a monastery were often maintained within one family, and the title passed from one generation to the next.[40] Although there is no documentary evidence that Isaac possessed this title, we know that he had specific interest in the Chora. While his brother, Emperor John II, had founded an imperial mausoleum for himself at the Pantokrator Monastery, shortly before 1136, Isaac seems to have already provided a tomb for himself in the church of the Chora, suggesting that he held a position of responsibility and possessed proprietary rights within that monastery.[41] Later he ordered his tomb removed to the Panagia Kosmosoteira Monastery at Pherrai in Thrace; the 1152 typikon of that monastery requests certain items from the Chora: the marbles of his tomb, a bronze railing, an icon stand and mosaic icon, as well as portraits of his parents; at the same time he specifies that his own portrait should remain in the Chora: "As for my own portrait, which I made in my youth out of childish vanity . . . , I do not wish it to be removed from the Chora."[42] That he maintained the authority to remove decorations from the church suggests that he was indeed *ktētor* of the Chora and that he had rebuilt the church of his grandmother. A date of ca. 1120 is suggested for the reconstruction, that is, shortly after his elevation to sebastokrator in 1118 and prior to his exile from the capital in 1122.[43] As we shall see, the numerous similarities with the Pantokrator and the Kosmosoteira reinforce this attribution.

If the attribution of this building phase to Isaac Comnenus is correct, both the historical and archeological evidence suggests a reconstruction within approximately forty years of Maria Ducaena's foundation. The necessity for such an extensive rebuilding requires some explanation. Oates has proposed that the site may be to blame.[44] Constructed on a slope, all buildings on the site required terracing; and although earlier foundations were utilized, they were reinforced in each successive building phase. The terrain on which the foundations rest has been shifting naturally downhill, and the principal structural weakness of the church has apparently always been the line of junction between the east end and the naos. A large crack runs through the entire superstructure at that point, causing a fissure of several centimeters to appear, most noticeable in the parecclesion (Fig. 89).

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[36] Measurements for the Pantepoptes are based on Ebersolt and Thiers, *Églises*, pl. 39; those for the Kariye include the naos revetment.

[37] Oates, "Report," 223 note 2.

[38] For the identification of Melanie, see Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 46–47; also P. A. Underwood,"Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1955–1956," *DOP* 12 (1958), 286–87; idem, "The Deisis Mosaic in the Kahrie Cami at Istanbul," *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), 254–60.

[39] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 11–12; and above, note 38. While the images resemble donor portraits, it is impossible that either figure donated the mosaic.

[40] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 11–12 and note 28; also J. von Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht in der morgenländischen Kirche* (Vienna, 1888), 47–81.

[41] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 11–12.

[42] Ibid., I, 12–13 and note 33. For the typikon, see L. Petit, "Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près de Aenos (1152)," *IRAIK* 13 (1908), 17–77. For a discussion of the tomb, see N. Ševčenko, "The Tomb of Isaak Komnenos at Pherrai," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 29 (1984), 135–40. Most recently, see S. Sinos, *Die Klosterkirche der Kosmosoteira in Bera (Vira)*, Byzantinisches Archiv 17 (Munich, 1985).

[43] Oates, "Report," 230–31; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 13. Ševčenko, "Isaak Komnenos," 136 note 4, suggests a later date for the erection of the tomb.

[44] Oates, "Report," 230. This was no doubt the reason for including the flying buttress in the 14th-century construction.

In an area troubled by earthquakes, it may be that the shifting of the ground, coupled with a tremor, caused the collapse of the eastern end of the building, requiring the complete reconstruction of the apse and the pastophoria.[45] We can speculate that the apse, the dome, and probably a large portion of the vaulting collapsed in the early twelfth century, necessitating both the rebuilding and the alterations in the structural support system.

While the Phase IV rebuilding incorporated much of the earlier wall structure of the naos, the character of the central space was substantially altered. The columns, which presumably supported the dome in a cross-in-square unit, were removed, and massive masonry piers were added in the corners of the naos to support a larger dome, ca. 7.45 m in diameter (Figs. 11, 12, 42, 43). The space was thus unified, and, with a larger apse and dome, the interior was monumentalized. The inclusion of a larger dome required the rebuilding of the upper portions of the naos walls, as the crossarms were considerably wider than their Phase III predecessors (Figs. 54–56). The spatial unit thus formed is a cross-domed unit, with a dome on pendentives, supported by four shallow barrel vaults.

The radical change in plan undertaken in the Phase IV reconstruction may have been motivated by structural concerns rising from a consideration for the unstable site. After the collapse of the eleventh-century church, the structural necessities of the site would have been reexamined, and a certain amount of caution would have been exercised in the rebuilding. Although the dome was increased in size, the effectiveness of the support system was also substantially increased by the replacement of the freestanding columns with engaged corner piers. The change of plan thus had the effect of both stabilizing and monumentalizing the naos, answering both structural requirements and formal concerns.

The planning solution employed in the Phase IV Kariye, the so-called atrophied Greek cross plan, occurred frequently in the twelfth century and was perhaps an abbreviated form of the cross-domed church.[46] Several monuments in the orbit of the capital testify to the popularity of the plan at that time and offer significant comparisons with the Kariye. The monastery church of St. Abercius at Kurşunlu (Elegmi) on the south shore of the Sea of Marmara, dated 1162, is smaller than the Kariye, but quite similar in plan (Fig. 158).[47] The dome no longer survives, but it appears from the supporting piers of the corners that it spanned almost the entire naos, flanked on four sides by broad arches. In addition, the spaciousness of the plan was enhanced by a large bema, similarly close to the width of the naos, and the space was lit by the large windows of the lunettes. The church of Sv. Nikola at Kuršumlija also falls into the same category. Identified as a Constantinopolitan building on Serbian soil, it may be dated to the patronage of Stephen Nemanja, ca. 1164, or perhaps earlier.[48] Like the Kariye and Kurşunlu, the construction is of recessed brick. The building is similarly an atrophied cross in plan, with large lunette windows lighting the interior. The large dome is raised on a windowed drum. The tripartite sanctuary is narrower, however, but this appears to be characteristic of churches in Serbia. The plan of Sv. Nikola was employed in a number of Nemanja's later foundations, as at Djurdjevi Stupovi and the church of the Virgin at Studenica.[49]

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[45] Oates, "Report," 230.

[46] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 388–90.

[47] C. Mango, "The Monastery of St. Abercius at Kurşunlu (Elegmi) in Bithynia," *DOP* 22 (1968), 169–76.

A recently excavated church in Nicaea has a similar plan. S. Eyice has suggested that this be identified as H. Tryphon, built by Theodore II Lascaris, 1254–58.[50] The naos is an atrophied Greek cross in plan, presumably topped by a dome ca. 6.0 m in diameter, supported on narrow barrel vaults rising from the corner piers. To the east was a wide bema. The core of the building was surrounded on three sides by ancillary spaces, from which it remained fairly isolated; only a single door opened on each of the three sides.

There were probably churches following this plan in Constantinople as well, although none survive. Two of the major examples of twelfth-century architecture in the capital, the Kalenderhane Camii and the Gül Camii, employ cross-domed plans on a large scale. The Gül Camii, with a dome of ca. 8.50 m in diameter, expanded the central, cruciform naos with ambulatories on two levels. The Kalenderhane utilizes compound piers to support a dome of ca. 7.70 m in diameter.[51] In both, a monumental, unified naos space is created, illuminated by large lunette windows, comparing favorably with the Kariye. On a smaller scale, the single-aisled church known as Toklu Dede Mescidi was similar in plan to the Kariye.[52] The building, which has all but vanished in this century, had a square naos, covered by a dome ca. 4.00 m in diameter, supported by shallow arches rising from corner piers. Its original identification and date are not known. Van Millingen had suggested a twelfth-century date, attempting to identify the building as the church of St. Thecla, built in the Blachernae Palace by John II and Isaac Comnenus, an intriguing but unfounded hypothesis. T. F. Mathews has suggested an eleventh- or twelfth-century date.[53]

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[48] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 401–2. For an earlier dating, see S. Ćurčić, "Origins of Thirteenth-Century Architecture in Serbia," *Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers* 2 (1976), 21–22.

[49] G. Millet, *L'ancien art Serbe: Les églises* (Paris, 1914), 49–61. Smaller churches in the Balkans frequently employed this plan from the 12th century on. See also V. Korać, "Les églises à nef unique avec une coupole dans l'architecture des XI^{e} XII^{e} siècles," *Zograf* 8 (1977), 10–14.

[50] S. Eyice, "Monuments byzantins anatoliens inédits ou peu connus," *CCARB* 18 (1971), 314–15 and fig. 2; idem, "Die byzantinische Kirche in der Nähe des Yenisehir-Tores zu İznik," *Materialia Turcica* 7–8 (1981–82), 152–67.

[51] For the Gül Camii, see H. Schäfer, *Die Gül Camii in Istanbul: Ein Beitrag zur mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenarchitektur*, IM Beiheft 7 (Tübingen, 1973). For the Kalenderhane Camii, see C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, "Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul," *DOP* 21 (1967), 267–71; 22 (1968), 185–93; 25 (1971), 251–58.

[52] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 207–11; A. Pasadaios, "To pheron epōnymian Toklou Ibrahēm Dede Mescidi byzantinōn ktērion," *Archaiologikē ephēmeris* (1969), 80–124.

[53] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 207–11; T. F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park, 1976), 376.

A second Constantinopolitan example survives only in substructure, but appears close in form to the Phase IV Kariye. A cistern near the Fatih Camii, examined by P. Forchheimer and J. Strzygowski, follows the same plan; the organization of the vaults of the cistern would not allow internal supports in the naos above.[54] The projected elevation, based on the 1898 plan, would have a dome ca. 5.0 m in diameter. Unfortunately the date and identification of the monument are unknown; nor has it been studied in this century.

The remains of a church at Yuşa Tepesi on the Bosphoros, just outside Istanbul, may also be placed in this group. Identified by Th. Macridy as the church of St. Panteleimon built by Justinian, it may be a later version of this foundation. The broad, many-faceted apse and the form of the pastophoria suggest a twelfth-century date rather than the generally accepted sixth- or ninth-century date proposed by Eyice.[55] The cruciform naos would have been originally covered by a dome ca. 5.0 m in diameter, supported by corner piers. The space was extended by a broad bema, similar to the Kariye.

As we have seen, while technically the rebuilding of an earlier church, the Phase IV Kariye Camii fits well with the planning concerns of the twelfth century. In addition, a certain amount of care is evident in the planning of the church and in the relationship of the parts to the whole. Measurements in both the plan and the elevation appear to be rooted in a geometric system. The size of the corner piers was determined such that the diagonal measurement across the naos is equal to the length and width of the central square of the naos: a circle inscribed in the plan indicates the amount of projection of the corner piers (see Fig. 49, b). Similarly, a larger square circumscribed around the square of the plan determines the depth of the bema and probably of the narthex—assuming that the Phase IV narthex covered approximately the same area as the present, fourteenth-century narthex. The inner measure from the apse to the narthex portal is thus twice the length of the central square. A similar system must have been employed in the eleventh-century church when the basic measurements were determined, but it is remarkable that such a refined system was employed in a rebuilding when the basic dimensions were predetermined.[56]

Above the dome cornice, the dome and drum were rebuilt in the fourteenth century, but these probably follow the form of the twelfth-century dome.[57] The proportions of the drum and dome are based on an equilateral triangle, and evidently this basic proportional relationship was carried throughout the length of the building; another equilateral triangle may be drawn from the apse at floor level to the narthex door sill, to the peak of the dome (Fig. 49, a). The height of the central, cruciform unit of the naos to the peak of the arches is approximately equal to the length and width of its ground plan; the height of the dome above the peak of the arches is the same as the diameter of the dome. There are, of course, slight deviations in the execution, as could be expected considering the deformation of the building, the thickness of the revetments, and the various repairs. Nonetheless, the number of proportional relationships suggests that a theoretical system of geometric proportion was envisioned for this space in the Phase IV reconstruction.

The Kosmosoteira offers a useful comparison in this respect (Fig. 157). The church has much the same feeling of spaciousness as the Kariye, similarly covered by a large dome and lit by broad lunette windows. The dome is almost equal in diameter, measuring slightly greater than seven meters. The form of the pumpkin dome, raised on a windowed drum, is nearly identical to the fourteenth-century replacement at the Kariye; the proportions of the dome are likewise based on an equilateral triangle. In size, the overall length of the Kosmosoteira is approximately the same as the Kariye, and the height is also similar. Recently, S. Sinos has proposed a similar system of geometric proportions for the Kosmosoteira.[58]

Outside of the naos, other elements of the Phase IV Kariye have not survived, although the fragmentary archeological evidence allows a hypothetical reconstruction. We have only scant information for the twelfth-century narthex. The insertion of corner piers blocked the western side entrances to the naos. The north entrance was shifted slightly, to its present position, although it is not certain whether this occurred in the Phase IV or Phase V construction. Neither is there any indication of a new south door. Oates attributes this irregularity in the naos entrances and the present, asymmetrical plan of the narthex to this phase, but this is only speculation.[59] An examination of the masonry indicates that the entire superstructure of the narthex belongs to the fourteenth-century construction. However, the fragment of Phase III wall in the storeroom wall may indicate the south limit of the narthex. The foundations of the inner narthex have never been examined, and these probably date to a large extent from this phase or the previous phase. While the foundations of the outer narthex have settled, those of the inner narthex have not, except at the extreme north side where both the floors and walls have cracked. Significantly, the fracture occurs at a point the same distance from the central axis as the south esonarthex wall. Therefore, a symmetrical narthex, projecting beyond the width of the naos, may be hypothesized.

The suggested form of the narthex finds support in the contemporaneous narthex of Christos ho Pantokratōr, built by Isaac Comnenus' brother, John II, and Empress Eirene (Fig. 159).[60] Originally the south Pantokrator narthex consisted of five bays, with the outer two projecting beyond the width of the naos. A. H. S. Megaw noted in his excavation report that the outer bays of the narthex did not originally have portals in their west walls, but instead contained arcosolia for tombs.[61] The northern arcosolium was destroyed shortly after its construction to create an entrance to the mausoleum chapel attached to the north flank.

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[54] Forchheimer and Strzygowski, *Die byzantinischen Wasserbehälter,* 81 and fig. 18.

[55] S. Eyice, "Remarques sur deux anciennes églises byzantines d'Istanbul: Koca Mustafa Paşa camii et l'église du Yuşa tepesi," *Actes du IXᵉ Congrès International des Études Byzantines* (Thessaloniki, 1953), 190–95.

[56] For other discussions of proportion in Byzantine churches, see H. Buchwald, "Sardis Church E—A Preliminary Report," *JÖB* 26 (1977), 271–72; H. Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Genesis und Typologie des 'Mistratypus,'" *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 18 (1969), 105 ff; and Sinos, *Klosterkirche,* 157–76.

[57] The dome is similar in proportion to that of the Kosmosoteira at Pherrai, dated 1152, and unlike the attenuated proportions of the dome of the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos in Istanbul, dated ca. 1310. For sections, see A. K. Orlandos, "Ta byzantina mnēmeia tēs Vēras," *Thrakika* 4 (1933), fig. 2; and Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches,* fig. 53.

[58] Sinos, *Klosterkirche,* pls. 11–12.

[59] Oates, "Report," 227–28.

[60] A. H. S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP* 17 (1963), 335–64; also Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches,* 219–42, esp. figs. 79–80. See more recently L. E. Butler, *The Pantokrator Monastery: An Imperial Foundation,* M.A. thesis (Oberlin College, 1980).

At the Kosmosoteira in Pherrai, Isaac Comnenus was apparently buried in a similar position (Fig. 157). Although his tomb is no longer extant, the typikon of the monastery specifies that it was to be placed to the left side of the narthex.[62] This would seem to indicate one of the two western domed bays: the typikon implies a close relationship between the tomb area and the naos, and the domed bays could have been closed off from the naos by parapets or curtains, as surviving cuttings suggest. We may hypothesize that Isaac's tomb was similarly positioned at the Chora: that the broad narthex of the Phase IV Kariye initially contained the tomb of Isaac which was later transferred to the Kosmosoteira. This suggestion is encouraged by the position of the Deesis mosaic in the present esonarthex of the Kariye, which includes a portrait of Isaac.

A hypothetical reconstruction of the Phase IV narthex may be based on the form of the Pantokrator narthex, the western portion of the Kosmosoteira, and of the surviving esonarthex of the Kariye (Figs. 27, 43). The numerous similarities shared by the latter two monuments suggest that they both follow the example of the twelfth-century Kariye. The western portions of both are topped by twin domes which abut the upper naos wall, allowing only partial fenestration in the drums. In both instances the domes are gored on the interior and decorated with busts of Christ and the Virgin in the central medallions and standing figures in the scallops.[63] In addition, the internal wall surfaces of the western domed compartments of the Kosmosoteira and of the south bay of the Kariye narthex are articulated by arched recesses. We may then speculate that the twelfth-century narthex of the Kariye was topped by twin domes which may have signified individual chapels, similar to the Kosmosoteira or the south bay of the fourteenth-century Kariye narthex. The implications of the twin-domed narthex for the fourteenth-century rebuilding will be discussed below (Chapter 3).

Domed chapels flanking the entrance were not uncommon in the Middle Byzantine period.[64] These could also be part of a larger planning scheme involving five domes, with the naos dome symmetrically flanked by domed pastophoria and narthex chapels,

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[61] Megaw, "Notes," 347, suggests that the south arcosolium of the narthex was the original burial site of Empress Eirene, assuming that she died in 1124. See P. Gautier, "L'obituaire du typikon du Pantocrator," *REB* 27 (1969), 247, for the correct date of 1134. Nevertheless, it would seem that the earliest burials at the Pantokrator were in the narthex rather than in the chapel of St. Michael.

[62] Isaac states that the tomb is to the left, which should indicate the north side; see Petit, "Typikon du monastère," 63. See also R. Ousterhout, "Where Was the Tomb of Isaak Komnenos?" *Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers* 11 (1985), 34, who suggests that the western portion of the existing building be identified as Isaak's "narthex."

[63] For a discussion of the frescoes, see N. Patterson (Ševčenko), *Byzantine Frescoes at Pherrai*, M.A. thesis (Columbia University, 1964); and Sinos, *Klosterkirche*, 177–205.

[64] S. Ćurčić, "The Twin-Domed Narthex in Paleologan Architecture," *ZRVI* 13 (1971), 333–44; also idem, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches," *JSAH* 36 (1977), 94–110, esp. 97–99.

as at the Kosmosoteira. The five-domed church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi (1164) should be noted in the same context. Built by a minor member of the Comnenus family, the church included tiny, domed funeral chapels accessible only from the narthex.[65] The irregular, five-domed plan of the fourteenth-century Kariye may reflect a similar plan for the twelfth-century church.

For the pastophoria of the Phase IV Kariye, there is too little evidence to suggest a definitive reconstruction. The portals from the bema still survive; that connecting with the diaconicon was blocked in the fourteenth century, but is now visible from the diaconicon, and its reveals retain the Phase IV frescoes (Fig. 70).[66] Beyond the doorways, however, the construction is now entirely fourteenth-century. A small trace of the foundation of the diaconicon wall was discovered (Fig. 11), as well as the mortared rubble fill from this phase; on this basis we can speculate that the pastophoria were similar in size and position to the present ones. Although the portals to the bema survive, there is no indication of bonding with the apse construction; the recessed niches that articulate the exterior of the Phase IV apse continue around the sides, where they are buried in the abutting masonry of the fourteenth-century pastophoria (Fig. 138). Perhaps as a safety precaution for the unstable east end of the building, the Phase IV pastophoria were not bonded with the bema, allowing the units to settle independently.

The projecting pastophoria, flanking a wide bema, were not unusual in the twelfth century. The eastern chapels of the church of St. Abercius at Kurşunlu project in a similar manner, opening off of a broad sanctuary (Fig. 158). The foundations of the church at Yuşa Tepesi indicate a similar arrangement of the units of the east end. At the Kariye, the projection of the pastophoria probably matched the projection of the narthex, balancing the units. On the north side, the area between may have contained a porch or passage of some sort, although there is absolutely nothing surviving in this area from the twelfth century. To the south, however, some building remains were found.

Like its fourteenth-century successor, the Phase IV Kariye had an annexed chapel on the south side, connected to the naos by a large, arched opening. The passageway, about 3.40 m wide, was partially blocked in later construction and covered by revetment in the naos, but it is still visible in the upper passage between the naos and the parecclesion (Figs. 102–103).[67] The soffit of the arch is still covered with the first plaster rendering for mosaic. In this area, the Phase III wall was doubled in thickness, and the original wall opening was probably widened. Little remains to indicate the actual form of the chapel; most of the foundations were completely obliterated by the construction of the present, fourteenth-century parecclesion and its substructures. In the storeroom to the west of passageway B, the stub of a pier was excavated in the northwest corner of the elevated floor, bonded to the Phase IV wall (Figs. 11, 100). This was interpreted by Oates as a corner pier which supported the arch of a dome, suggesting that the chapel was a domed cross plan, repeating on a slightly smaller scale the form of the naos.[68] If this were the case, the dome of the lateral chapel conformed almost exactly to the position of the present parecclesion dome. There is, unfortunately, too little evidence for a reconstruction to be put forward; according to Oates' hypothetical plan, the chapel would have had a rather large dome, almost seven meters in diameter.

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[65] G. Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines: Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris, 1969), 166; also Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance," 102–3 and fig. 14.

[66] Oates, "Report," 227–28; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 266.

[67] Oates, "Report," 227–28; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 10–11; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 314 and figs. 102, 103, 106.

Lateral subsidiary chapels were common in the Middle Byzantine period. The church at Veljusa, ca. 1080, includes a chapel attached to the south flank of the naos, repeating on a smaller scale the quatrefoil plan of the naos.[69] Sv. Nikola in Kuršumlija also included a square, annexed chapel connected to the south flank of the naos by a large, arched opening and contemporaneous with the naos construction. This organization of units offers a significant parallel to the Phase IV Kariye. At the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople, the central mausoleum church dedicated to St. Michael (before 1136) was joined to the south church in a similar manner, by means of a large, arched opening (Fig. 159).[70]

The articulation of the exterior of the Phase IV Kariye was rather elaborate. As in the preceding phase, the construction was of recessed brick, but in this phase occasionally alternating with single bands of stone. The seven-sided, polygonal apse was enlivened by a series of alternating rectangular and semicircular recessed niches on two levels (Figs. 134–138). The lower level coincided in height with the apse window, with the flanking niches extending to approximately the level of the floor inside. The area below the window is filled with three smaller recesses. A second zone of niches on an upper level is aligned vertically with those below.

The polygonal apse and the system of articulation are characteristic of the churches of this period in the capital. In the twelfth century the major churches include multifaceted apses decorated with a similar system of alternating niches on two levels. These features may be seen on the three churches of the Pantokrator, the Kilise Camii, and the side apses of the Gül Camii.[71] The proportions of the niches differ, depending on the relative dimensions of the apse. Those of the Pantokrator and the Gül Camii are elongated, while those of the Kilise are closer to the proportions of the Kariye.

Except for the east end, the exposed exterior surfaces of the naos are entirely plastered. However, in the upper wall areas of the north, west, and south sides, the plastic articulation is still evident (Figs. 148–150). The wall surface is set back from the lunette arch by three profiled steps that follow the curve of the arch and express externally the form of the vault. The high-shouldered windows are also recessed from the wall surface. On the south lunette, additional recessed niches are still visible flanking the tripartite window; similar recesses used to be visible on the west lunette but are now plastered over.[72] In addition to the decoration of the lunette, the pier to the east of the south

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[68] Oates, "Report," 227–28.

[69] Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance," 97–99; Babić, *Chapelles annexes*, 94–104.

[70] Megaw, "Notes," 342–43; C. Mango, "Notes on Byzantine Monuments: Tomb of Manuel I Comnenus," *DOP* 23–24 (1969–70), 372–75.

[71] Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 74–99; 129–33; 387–93 for illustrations. See also comments by Velenis, *Hermēneia tou exōterikou diakosmou*, 142–44.

[72] See Rüdell, *Kahrie-Dschamisi*, fig. 18 and pl. 4.

lunette is filled with a large, semicircular niche; presumably a similar recess appeared in the corresponding position on the north wall.

The breaking up of the external surface in such a manner is characteristic of the period as well. Similar setbacks and recessed windows also appear at the Gül Camii, the Pantokrator, and the Theotokos hē Pammakaristos in Istanbul, as well as Sv. Nikola at Kuršumlija.[73] All of these buildings employ similar high-shouldered windows. The flanking niches at the Kariye continue the dematerialized character of the apses and lunette arches, but these features lack significant parallels in contemporary Constantinopolitan architecture.

Decorative brick patterns were also used to enliven surfaces on the Phase IV Kariye. The conches and tympana of the apse niches are decorated with a variety of chevron and herringbone patterns (Figs. 135–136). A similar chevron pattern appears in the exposed niche on the interior of the apse, although this would not have been exposed. A small fragment of meander pattern also survives on the uppermost section of the east wall to the north of the apse (Fig. 135).

The chevron or zigzag pattern was ubiquitous in Byzantine architectural decoration. The pattern takes on two basic forms. When used on a curved surface, that is, the conch of a niche, the pattern radiates from a central, V- or W-shaped element with diagonals radiating outward, following the curve of the conch. When on a flat surface, such as tympana of rectangular niches, the zigzag pattern is usually repeated evenly in horizontal rows. This basic division may be seen in the twelfth-century apse of the Kariye, with a few variations, as well as in the fourteenth-century parecclesion of the same building. The original pattern may have developed out of the construction technique of chevron segmenting in the vaulting of conches and semidomes.[74]

The brick meander pattern was also quite common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In Istanbul, the motif appears at the Pantepoptes and the substructure of Christos ho Philanthrōpos, the latter ca. 1081–1118.[75] The motif also appears as decoration of both wall surfaces and dome drums in several areas under Constantinopolitan influence: Černigov, Kiev, Bačkovo, Enez, and elsewhere.[76] The motif also appears frequently in Late Byzantine architectural decoration.

The use of brick patterning in Byzantine architecture was ultimately a part of the Roman heritage.[77] Decorative patterning began to reappear in the Middle Byzantine period, perhaps an outgrowth of constructional practices. Ceramic decoration appears in full force in the capital from ca. 1080 on into the twelfth century. A great variety of randomly placed decoration appears at the Pantepoptes, the Kilise Camii, and the sea wall of the Philanthropos Monastery.[78] At the Pantokrator and the Gül Camii, the decorative brickwork is equally rich, but is limited to herringbone and chevron motifs in the niches of the apses. The Phase IV Kariye would seem to fit most closely with the latter two monuments. Similar decorative features appear about the same time in other areas, presumably under the influence of Constantinople: Canlı Kilise in Central Anatolia, Veljusa in Yugoslavia, the Kosmosoteira at Pherrai, at Černigov and Kiev in Russia, and at Bačkovo and Stanimaka in Bulgaria.[79]

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[73] As above, note 71; also Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 348–53; Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, fig. 333.

[74] As suggested by Buchwald, "Sardis Church E," 289 ff. For the relationship of such decoration to the recessed brick technique, see Velenis, *Hermēneia tou exōterikou diakosmou*, 138 ff.

[75] Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 62, 63, 204 for illustrations.

[76] For Russian examples, see H. Schäfer, "Architekturhistorische Beziehungen zwischen Byzanz und der Kiever Rus im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert," *IM* 23–24 (1973–74), pls. 88, 93; for Bulgarian examples, see N. Mavrodinov, *Ednokorabnata i Krustovidnata Tsurkva* (Sofia, 1931), pls. 62, 66; for Enez, see S. Eyice, "Trakya'da Bizans devrine ait eserler," *TTKB* 33 (1969), fig. 91.

[77] For additional comments, see Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 466–68.

Some indications survive for the interior decoration and furnishing of the Phase IV Kariye. As will be discussed in the following chapter, the building may not have been revetted, but was decorated instead with painted plaster below the cornice and mosaic above. This system is somewhat unusual, but appears also in the fourteenth century at the H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki.[80] At the Kosmosoteira at Pherrai, the decoration is entirely fresco, but with painted decoration appearing both below and above the cornice.[81]

At the Kariye, the niche that appears on the north side of the apse doubtless had a counterpart to the south, still concealed behind the revetment (Fig. 50). Like the treatment of the apse exterior, the interior niches decrease the mass of the wall and break up the planar surface. Niches similar in size and position to these at the Kariye appear in the apse of the church at Veljusa.

Traces of the furnishings of the Phase IV Kariye were also found by the excavators. Sections of the mortar bed and footing for the iconostasis were discovered, as well as a section of the marble stylobate (Fig. 59).[82] While these are undoubtedly from the fourteenth century, it is likely that the twelfth-century templon screen was in the same position. In the center of the bema, the foundations of four columns of the canopy were located, surrounding a marble-lined loculus set directly below the position of the altar. The loculus had been robbed in Turkish times, and only miscellaneous rubbish and human skeletal remains were found in it. A smaller marble container to the east enclosed a lead reliquary which contained fragments of wood and bone. While nothing that could be definitely dated was discovered in this area, the excavators suggested that

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[78] Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, pls. 22–1, 22–2, 40–7, 40–8, 40–9. Both Mathews, 200, and Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 109, have attempted to date the substructure to a 1308 rebuilding, based on documentary evidence for the Philanthropos Monastery and the similarity of the brick decoration to that of H. Iōannēs at the Lips Monastery. Neither takes into consideration the recessed brick construction of the entire surface, which would more likely place it among the Middle Byzantine monuments. Velenis, *Hermēneia tou exōterikou diakosmou*, 80–82, proposes a late 12th-century date. See also S. Ćurčić, review of Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, in *JSAH* 36 (1977), 281.

[79] As above, note 76; also W. M. Ramsay and G. Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches* (London, 1909), figs. 331–35. M. Restle, "Kappadokien," *RBK* 3 (1978), 1058, and idem, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens* (Vienna, 1979), 133–35, proposed a 13th-century date for the Canlı Kilise. P. Miljković-Pepek, "Quelques données nouvelles des recherches sur l'église de la Vierge de Veljusa," *Kulturno nasledstvo* 3 (1971), fig. 1; Patterson (Sevčenko), *Byzantine Frescoes at Phěrrai*, figs. 29–32.

[80] A. Xyngopoulos, "Les fresques de l'église des Saints-Apôtres à Thessalonique," *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice, 1971), 85.

[81] Patterson (Ševčenko), *Byzantine Frescoes at Pherrai*, figs. 50 ff.

[82] Oates, "Report," 228.

the loculi belonged to Phase IV.[83] A similarly positioned loculus has been excavated at Christos ho Pantokratōr.[84]

Fragments of painted glass were also found in the Kariye loculus, in a variety of colors and figural and ornamental patterns, as well as the H-shaped lead cames with which the glass was set.[85] These are very similar in style and technique to fragments that were discovered at the Pantokrator from the 1120s; thus these probably belonged to the apse window of the second Comnenian construction phase.[86] Their presence suggests that what was once thought a purely western window decoration may have been prominent in the East as well.

The numerous individual comparisons place the Phase IV Kariye securely in the mainstream of Constantinopolitan architecture of the twelfth century. In addition, the similarities with the Kosmosoteira and the Pantokrator reinforce the attribution to Isaac Comnenus. In a larger sense, the changes undertaken in the Phase IV rebuilding are indicative of new planning and formal concerns in Byzantine architecture which differ from those of the eleventh century. The exotic, octagon-dome plan, popular in the eleventh century, vanished from the architectural mainstream in the twelfth.[87] The desire for broad, unencumbered interiors persisted, but spatial expansion was attempted in more traditional formats. At Christos ho Pantokratōr, the standard, four-column structural system supports a dome greater than seven meters in diameter (Fig. 159). While opening up the naos space, the large dome may be the maximum that such a structural system could effectively support. Indeed, after the construction of the slightly smaller south church at the Pantokrator, the four-column plan appears to have dropped out of favor as well.[88] At the Kosmosoteira, the dome is similar in size, but the four-column system was replaced by massive piers in the east and coupled columns to the west (Fig. 157).

The majority of the surviving monuments of twelfth-century Constantinople were based on a cruciform plan, either a cross-domed solution at the Kalenderhane Camii and the Gül Camii, or the atrophied Greek cross plan of the Kariye. These buildings share two major characteristics: a broad, unified naos space dominated by a large dome and the use of corner piers rather than freestanding columns for structural stability. In all examples, the unified and spacious quality of the interior is enhanced by the light provided by large windows in the lunettes and the drum of the dome. From the exterior, the buildings have a massive and blocky appearance, emphasizing the solidity of the structure.

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[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.; Megaw, "Notes," 347.

[85] Megaw, "Notes," 349–67.

[86] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 19. J. Lafond, "Les vitraux historiés du Moyen Age découverts récemment à Constantinople," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1964), 164–66, refutes Megaw's suggestion of an eastern origin for the stained glass.

[87] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 386–88; 402–16; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 219–31.

[88] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 390–91. The only securely dated later example in Constantinople is the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos Monastery, dated ca. 1310.

Rather than appearing as an outgrowth of the architecture of the previous century, the major twelfth-century monuments are more closely related to church types of the sixth through ninth centuries. Both the cross-domed plan and its abridged form, the atrophied Greek cross plan, reappear in the mainstream of Byzantine architecture in the twelfth century after an absence of two or perhaps three centuries.[89] It has been suggested that this reversion to older architectural traditions represents a deliberate attempt to "maintain certain forms that were thought to be truly Byzantine and Orthodox" at a time when the empire was threatened from both the Catholic West and the Moslem East.[90]

Like the cross-domed plan, the atrophied Greek cross plan reemerges in the mainstream of Byzantine architecture in the twelfth century. The Kariye Camii stands at the forefront of a group of monuments of this type. Similarities in form and decoration as well as plan have been noted with the churches at Kurşunlu, Kuršumlija, Djurdjevi Stupovi, Studenica, and Nicaea, as well as the ruins of Yuşa Tepesi, Toklu Dede Mescidi, and the substructure near the Fatih Camii in Istanbul. The Phase IV Kariye offers an example of this architectural type at the highest level of patronage in the capital. In addition, it is the earliest dated example in this group. While its form resulted from the structural necessities of the unstable site, its ultimate solution proved popular; it may well be that the Kariye was the seminal monument for the reintroduction of the atrophied cross plan in the twelfth century.

Phase V: The Church of Theodore Metochites

The plan and the decoration of the present, surviving church are primarily the result of the patronage of Theodore Metochites, the early fourteenth-century *ktētor* of the monastery (Frontispiece). Both his life and his associations with the Chora are well documented.[91] The condition of the monastery between the early twelfth and early fourteenth century, however, is not known. Nor is it known if the monastery was abandoned during the Latin Occupation (1204–61), although most writers assume that it fared badly during this period.[92] The Chora is first mentioned again in 1275: Patriarch John Bekkos lodged there while attending audiences with Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus in the nearby Blachernae Palace.[93] Bekkos conducted services and convened his bishops in the monastery.

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[89] Ibid., 301–10; 355–56

[90] Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 249. For a fuller discussion of the revival of the cruciform plan in the 12th century, see R. Ousterhout, "The Byzantine Church at Enez: Problems in Twelfth-Century Architecture," *JÖB* 34 (1985), 261–80. The Enez church is closely related to the Kalenderhane Camii and the Gül Camii.

[91] I. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time," in *The Kariye Djami*, IV, ed. P. A. Underwood (New York-Princeton, 1975), 17 ff; also Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 14 ff.

[92] Janin, *Géographie*, I, iii, 534; also Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 297–98; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 14.

[93] Janin, *Géographie*, I, iii, 534; Pachymeres, V, 24, 25; Bonn ed., I, 407–8.

By the end of the century, the monastery seems to have been in a rather poor state. Maximus Planudes, a resident at the Chora in the 1290s and Theodore Metochites' scholarly predecessor, complained about the deteriorated condition of the monastic library, which the emperor was either unwilling or unable to improve.[94] This is assumed to have been the motivation for Planudes' departure from the Chora around 1300. Patriarch Athanasius I resided in the Chora in the early fourteenth century, and a letter that he wrote to the emperor ca. 1305 also paints a rather bleak picture of monastic life: "I have at least twenty followers who have no place to sleep and are freezing and covered with mud. If my cell were able to hold a windmill, the monks of the Chora could grind a lot of flour."[95] As patriarch, Athanasius also convened his bishops at the Chora before going to the Blachernae.

It is possible that a minor restoration of the thirteenth century may have preceded the work by Metochites. The Deesis mosaic in the inner narthex includes the portraits of Sebastokrator Isaac Comnenus and a female figure identified as Melanie the nun, *kyra* of the Mongols (Fig. 110).[96] She is most likely identified as Maria Palaeologina, the famed Mary of the Mongols, illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII and half-sister of Andronicus II, married in a diplomatic maneuver to the Mongol Khan Abaga in 1265; she returned to the capital after his death in 1281/82.[97] She was known as a patroness of religious foundations, both in Constantinople and at the Mongol court; after her return to the capital, she rebuilt the monastery of the Theotokos Panagiotissa, located near the Chora.[98] It is not inconceivable that she served as *ktētorissa* for the Chora Monastery as well, which would explain her presence in the donor mosaic. She was likely the donor of a now lost Gospels to the monastery, and she may even have been related by marriage to Metochites.[99]

In any case, if such a restoration occurred, it was of minor significance and has left no physical remains. By 1305, it seems, the monastery was in a delapidated state. The extent of the rebuilding by Metochites also suggests that the church was in a rather hazardous state when he assumed the title of *ktētor*. The poor condition was not necessarily the result of the Latin Occupation; the capital had been stricken by a series of disasters in the early Palaeologan period that may have taken their toll on the monastery, including the great earthquake of 1296 and the rioting by the Catalan Company in 1302.[100]

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[94] C. Wendel, "Planudea," *BZ* 40 (1940), 406–10; *Maximi Monachi Planudis Epistulae*, ed. M. Treu (Breslau, 1890), 81–85.

[95] A. M. M. Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 26–27; also Janin, *Géographie*, I, iii, 534–35.

[96] Underwood, "Deisis Mosaic," 254–60; idem, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 284 ff; idem, *Kariye Djami*, I, 45–48.

[97] S. Runciman, "The Ladies of the Mongols," *Eis mnēmēn K. Amantou* (Athens, 1960), 46–53, is inconclusive as to the identification of this figure; but see Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 23 note 25.

[98] For the Theotokos Panagiotissa, see Janin, *Géographie*, I, iii, 213–14; also Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 277–78; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 204–5. For the donation by Maria of a Gospel book to the Chora, see Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 286–87 note 50; and Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 23 note 25. An account survives of the Orthodox church she had constructed at Bā Agré in northern Iraq while at the Mongol court; the painters and perhaps the builders were from Constantinople; see J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne* (Beirut, 1965), II, 433–34. My thanks to B. G. Lippard for this reference.

[99] C. Mango, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959), 138 ff, calls it a mosaic of the "ktētoric class." See also Wendel, "Planudea," 406–10; and Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 27 note 61: one of Metochites' sons may have married one of Maria's daughters.

Although an era of rapid political decline, the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries saw a period of great intellectual activity in Byzantium, with a flowering of the arts, letters, and natural sciences.[101] One of the leading proponents of this so-called last Byzantine Renaissance was Theodore Metochites (1270–1332).[102] As a young man he had shown such promise of scholarship that he was brought to the attention of Andronicus II and was taken into the service of the emperor in 1290 or shortly thereafter. Metochites could claim to have been elevated on his own abilities: his father was an infamous heretic—a *latinophrōn* who refused to recant—and a state prisoner, banished from the capital.[103] Theodore advanced rapidly in position and spent most of his adult life as a statesman in the service of Andronicus II; he served in a variety of capacities—logothete (controller), ambassador, prime minister—and, in 1321, he was elevated to grand logothete. By 1315 he was considered the richest and most powerful man in the empire after the emperor.[104]

Metochites had a private palace within view of the Chora. This no longer survives, but its owner left a vivid description of it.[105] Overly ambitious, perhaps to compensate for his insecure heritage, Metochites amassed great wealth and sought ever greater authority in the government. He allied himself as best he could with the imperial family: his daughter was married to John Palaeologus, the emperor's nephew and later Caesar; and two of Metochites' sons may have been married to lesser members of the family.[106]

According to Metochites, it was the emperor who suggested that he undertake a restoration of the Chora; it would follow that Andronicus II also appointed Metochites its *ktētor*.[107] The monastery had been under the protection and administration of the imperial family, as a *vasilikē monē*. But it appears that even before the restoration, Metochites had been a benefactor.[108] The first nonimperial *ktētor* of a *vasilikē monē*, he may have considered this yet another honor and privilege, adding to his prestige and further strengthening his association with the imperial family.

The date of his appointment as *ktētor* is not documented, nor is the beginning date of his restoration work at the Chora. According to I. Ševčenko, Metochites would not have been in a financial position to accept such an appointment before 1308, and 1315–16 would be a more likely date.[109] Nicephorus Gregoras wrote in 1321 that the "renovation of the monastery as regards its interior decoration" was recently completed.[110] The several surviving monograms and inscriptions in the building give Metochites' title as logothete rather than grand logothete, confirming a date prior to 1321.[111]

This period would correspond with the apogee of Metochites' fortune. Shortly thereafter, the civil war that erupted between Andronicus II and his grandson, Andronicus III, undermined Metochites' political authority. Finally, when Andronicus III seized power in 1328, Metochites, who had sided with the old emperor, was unceremoniously deposed. His possessions were confiscated, his palace destroyed, and he himself—near sixty and in poor health—was banished to poverty in Didymoteichos in Thrace.[112] After two bleak years of exile and many pathetic entreaties, he was allowed to return to the Chora, where he died in 1332, having on his deathbed assumed monastic garb as the monk Theoleptos.[113]

In two poems, dedicated to Christ and the Virgin respectively, Metochites includes several statements concerning work at the Chora; these accord with the results of archeological investigation.[114] From these we learn that demolition and reconstruction work was quickly done; he implies that little construction was required in the nave, but that the lateral annexes and the two narthexes were built by him. Metochites says nothing of the form or function of these annexes. He also tells of providing marble floors and wall coverings; the context suggests that he was responsible for the naos revetments as well as those in the narthexes.[115] He mentions only in passing the mosaics, on which the present fame of the church rests, as well as holy vessels, silken vestments, and the library that he donated, the last being the source of great pride to the man of letters.[116]

Only the cruciform naos of the Comnenian edifice was left standing in Metochites' rebuilding (Fig. 12). It had not fared well: its dome had either collapsed or required replacement, as did the pastophoria and the narthex. The layout of the bema and the position of its furnishings—altar, ciborium, and templon screen—appear to have followed the twelfth-century plan. The major changes in this area were in regard to the access of the naos, indicative of the changing functions of the flanking chambers. The second entrance from the narthex may have been added at this time, while other passages were either decreased in size or suppressed. The door to the diaconicon was blocked, covered by marble revetment, and replaced by a small niche. The large, arched opening in the south wall, which had led to the lateral chapel, was decreased in size; the area formed by the arch was filled by a narrow passage and a tiny oratory which had a window opening onto the naos. On the north wall, a small window was inserted above the cornice, opening from the upper north annex.

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[100] J. Dück, "Die Erdbeben von Konstantinopel," *Die Erdbebenwarte,* 3 (1903–4), 134; A. Lowe, *The Catalan Vengeance* (Boston, 1972), 22–23. For a general discussion of the period, see D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261–1453* (London, 1972).

[101] S. Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1970); H. Hunger, "Von Wissenschaft und Kunst der frühen Paläologenzeit," *JÖBG* 8 (1959), 123–55.

[102] See Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 19–55, for a portrait of the man; see also H. G. Beck, *Theodoros Metochites: Die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1952).

[103] Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 25–27, 53.

[104] According to Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia,* VII, 11; van Dieten, *Rhomaïsche Geschichte,* I, 204.

[105] R. Guilland, "Le palais de Théodore Metochite," *Revue des études grecques* 35 (1922), 82–95.

[106] Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 27 and note 61.

[107] Ibid., 29 and note 76.

[108] Ibid., 28–29 and notes 75–76; the imperial status of the monastery was deduced by Wendel, "Planudea," 407.

[109] Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 90–91. The often repeated date of 1303, said to appear in Arabic numerals in the mosaic of the Marriage at Cana (6811 = A.D.1302/3), is a misinterpretation first presented by F. I. Shmit in a note in *BZ* 19 (1910), 241–42; repeated by Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches,* 300; and Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture,* 469–71; but see Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 16, for clarification.

[110] Gregoras, VIII, 5, 1; van Dieten, trans., *Rhomaïsche Geschichte,* II, 32.

[111] For the monograms of the dome cornice, see Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 37; for those on the exterior of the building, see Figs. 127, 131, and 132 of the present study.

[112] Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 30–37.

[113] Ibid., 37; also idem, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Metochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels, 1962), 8 note 2.

[114] Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 17; *Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites,* ed. M. Treu (Potsdam, 1895), 28–31, 42.

[115] As above, note 114.

[116] See, for example, Metochites' letter to the monks of the Chora, Logos 15, Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 57–84, esp. 80 ff. For the library of the Chora, see idem, "Observations sur les recueils des discours et des poèmes de Th. Metochites et sur la bibliothèque de Chora à Constantinople," *Scriptorium* 5 (1951), 279–88.

The pastophoria were also replaced by Metochites. The north chapel appears to have retained the function of prothesis, accessible from the bema and from the north annex, while the south chapel, accessible only from the parecclesion, may have become an independent chapel. The twin-domed narthex was built probably following the form of its twelfth-century predecessor. A two-storied annex was added to the north side of the building, and a large, domed funeral chapel on the south. Across the west facade, an arcaded exonarthex was constructed, which included a belfry on the southwest corner. A flying buttress was added to the main apse to provide additional support on the unstable terrain. These additions have proved to be the result of a single building campaign, with construction probably proceeding from east to west, beginning with the pastophoria and culminating with the exonarthex.

The construction technique employed in Metochites' additions is characteristically Palaeologan, and is similar throughout the building. It consists of alternating bands of brick and stone set with pink mortar. The normal pattern of repetition is four courses of brick, measuring ca. 42–46 cm, to four of stone, measuring 64–68 cm. The length of the brick varies, measuring up to ca. 35 cm. The bricks are laid close together, but with thick mortar beds: the bricks measure 4–5 cm thick, while the mortar beds measure 5–7 cm thick. The interior surfaces, originally covered by revetments or plaster, have been left rough, with the mortar troweled downward, partially covering the brick. The stones are large and irregular. A much more regular effect is achieved on the exterior, with flush pointing and squared stonework. There are occasional variations in the proportions of brick to stone. In the prothesis and north annex, an alternating pattern of three courses of brick to four of stone is employed. In the drum of the naos dome, seven or eight courses of brick alternate with a single stone course.

As it survives today, Theodore Metochites' building will be analyzed below, in Chapter 2. In the final chapter, the composition, individual components, structure, construction, and decorative features will be examined in relationship to the Late Byzantine architecture of Constantinople and other important centers of the period.

CHAPTER 2

An Analysis of the Existing Building

Additions and changes, begun within a few years of Metochites' initial construction, have altered the appearance of the Kariye Camii. The west arcade of the exonarthex was closed off by tomb arcosolia shortly after the building was completed. Columns and arches were added in the southwest bay of the exonarthex, necessitated by the weight of the belfry. With the transformation of the building into a mosque, ca. 1495–1511, a mihrab was added and parts of the interior decoration were obscured or destroyed. Furthermore, the Byzantine belfry was removed and replaced by a minaret. New portals were added, and others blocked, reflecting the change of usage. Over the years, the building sustained serious structural damage as a result of the unstable, sloping site, compounded by frequent earthquakes. The upper portion of the main dome collapsed, probably in the eighteenth century, and three of the smaller domes were fractured. The east end of the building also suffered considerable damage. Numerous windows and other openings were blocked over the course of time in order to strengthen the walls.

The reconstruction of 1875–76 accounted for a significant change in the appearance of the edifice. To facilitate the application of new lead roofing, large quantities of rubble were dumped onto the building in order to bring the undulating, Byzantine roofline up to level. The distinctive dogtooth cornices of the eaves were removed at this time. The minor domes also suffered from similar alterations. The rather stagnant and lifeless impression of the building from the west is primarily the result of this modern "improvement" (Figs. 2, 40).

In a more positive vein, a systematic and comprehensive restoration was undertaken by the Byzantine Institute of America as an outgrowth of their work on the mosaics and frescoes, 1947–58.[1] Extraneous additions were removed, blocked windows and portals reopened, vaults and wall surfaces were cleaned and consolidated. Structural damage was repaired, and missing or deteriorated masonry and glazing were replaced. To secure the structure, the original system of tie beams was replaced throughout the building by metal tie rods set in concrete, assuring the present stability of the edifice. More than a decade of work allowed for the uncovering and examination of original surfaces, limited archeological investigations, and a summary architectural survey of the building. These provided much of the information on which the present analysis is based.

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[1] The work was chronicled in a series of annual reports in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers:* P. A. Underwood, *DOP* 9–10 (1956), 255–88, 291–300; idem, *DOP* 11 (1957), 175–220; idem, *DOP* 12 (1958), 237–65, 269–87; idem, *DOP* 13 (1959), 187–212, 215–28; P. A. Underwood and L. J. Majewski, *DOP* 14 (1960), 205–19; Oates, "Report"; and Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 3–16.

The various components of the building will be considered here on an individual basis, beginning with an analysis of the interior spaces. Subsequently, the exterior surfaces of the building will be examined. The plan, the structure, and decorative elements will be analyzed, noting where additions, alterations, or restorations have occurred.[2] The examination of the interior will proceed in general terms from east to west, following what is probably close to the order of construction. This will be followed by a discussion of the individual facades, the roof, and the domes.

Interior

1. Naos and Bema (Figs. 59–65)

The cruciform naos of the Kariye Camii measures 14.92 m in length, from the sill of the western entrance to the end of the apse, and 9.88 m maximum width at the full extent of the crossarms (Fig. 9). The maximum dimensions were determined by the rising walls of the eleventh-century building. Altered in the twelfth century, the corner piers were inserted into the large, central square to support a broad dome, 7.45 m in diameter.[3] The naos opens to the east into a deep bema, extended by an extra bay that steps in slightly to a wide apse (Fig. 50). With little connection to the ancillary spaces and no internal supports, the naos appears as a monumental, unified space.

The main entrance to the naos is from the west, through a large, central portal (Fig. 51). A smaller entrance lies to the north, without a counterpart to the south. Another portal, offset in the south wall, connects to passageway B, leading to the parecclesion, and a smaller, arched portal in the bema provides access to the prothesis. Immediately above the cornice, a small, internal window opens from the upper north annex. Another internal window has been reconstructed in the south wall, connecting with a small oratory.

The naos is well illuminated by natural lighting, provided by the numerous windows. A broad, tripartite, mullioned window opens to the east from the apse (Fig. 50). The west and south lunettes contain high-shouldered, tripartite windows, and the drum of the dome contains another sixteen windows of moderate size (Figs. 54–57). The total effect is a spacious, light-filled interior, and the spaciousness is enhanced by the harmonious proportions of the plan and elevation.

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[2] The published information has been supplemented by the following unpublished material: C. Mango, excavation notes (1954); G. Forsyth, Jr., excavation notes (1957); D. Oates, excavation notes (1958); E. Hawkins, correspondence; Dumbarton Oaks Photograph Collection, excavation photographs (2 vols.); Dumbarton Oaks Archives, architectural survey drawings (ca. 1956–62) executed for the Byzantine Institute. The archeological work and repairs undertaken since 1947 have been summarized in R. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul*, diss. (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1982), appendix I, 197–213.

[3] Diameter given is directly below dome cornice; above the cornice, the dome measures ca. 7.90 m at its broadest, if one includes the scallops.

Although the form of the naos dates from the twelfth century, the majority of its decorative elements are from the early fourteenth century. With the exception of the mosaics above the main cornice, which have been almost totally lost, the architectural ornament, by and large, has survived. Below the string course, which dates from the twelfth century, the Palaeologan surface coverings are almost completely intact. The pavement, skirting, revetment, as well as some sculpture and mosaics are preserved, and these features give a good indication of how the interior would have appeared in the fourteenth century. It must have been quite opulent; all elements that were not in themselves decorative were decorated. In addition to the extensive mosaics which covered all unrevetted surfaces, the dome cornice and much of the sculptural decoration were painted.

In most parts of the building, the examination was restricted by the amount of surface covering that survived. Full-scale archeological work was limited to the bema, where the original flooring had disappeared. Limited investigations were carried out elsewhere in the naos in the course of repairs and in the few areas where the revetment could be removed without damage.

(a) Flooring. Much of the fourteenth-century flooring survives. As Metochites' writings suggest, this was surely his work (Fig. 63).[4] The marble panels are set in a bed of hard mortar, deep pink in color, which corresponds to the Palaeologan construction elsewhere in the building.[5] The materials and patterning are simple and compare favorably with the fourteenth-century esonarthex floor. The central area of the naos is paved by two rows of mirrored panels of veined, Proconnesian marble framed by a verde antico border. Each of the crossarms contains a central square flanked by rectangles of verde antico framed in rosso antico. The patterns of the central squares differ, but all have an outer border of rosso antico. The south square is formed by a fragment of opus sectile inlay in a pattern of interlocking circles, with most of the inlay now missing.[6] The north and west squares are missing or have been replaced. The east square has a central porphyry panel surrounded by thin borders of various colors of stone. This would have been directly in front of the main door of the templon screen and is directly above two tombs located beneath the floor.

The floor of the bema is entirely modern replacement. During the excavations in this area, the mortar bed was uncovered, into which the footings of the iconostasis has been set as well as a fragment of the green marble stylobate still in situ; these formed a step up to the slightly raised floor of the bema.[7] The apse excavations also exposed the foundations for the altar ciborium and perhaps for the altar table (Fig. 59).

(b) Skirting and revetment. The skirting is of a gray marble, simply articulated by horizontal grooves (Fig. 155, no. 4, center). It rises about 30 cm above the floor, providing a level base for the revetment above. The skirting is overlapped by the floor panels and consequently must have been put into position before the flooring was laid. The level maintained by the skirting is constant; where the bema floor steps up lightly from the level of the naos floor, the skirting continues with considerably less of its surface exposed.

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[4] For Metochites' contribution to the decoration, see Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 17 and note 54; for the text of Metochites' poem in which this is discussed, see Treu, ed., *Dichtungen*, 28.

[5] Oates, "Report," 225 note 2.

[6] A similar panel was found in the floor of the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos; see Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, pl. 36-34. The patterning of the floors of the south church at the Pantokrator and H. Iōannēs at the Studion are also similar; see Mathews, pls. 10-25, 15-15.

[7] Oates, "Report," 228.

The date of the skirting has been debated. Oates believed it to be from the twelfth century, noting that it rested on a footing of masonry which he dated to the twelfth century. Fragments of skirting as well as bullnose and bead-and-reel moldings were found in the debris associated with the footing, and occasionally the mortar of the footing overlapped the lower portion of the skirting.[8] The date of the skirting is consequently dependent on the date of the footing. However, E. Hawkins observed in the excavations of the prothesis doorway that the footing—or at least the upper packing of broken brick, arranged to bring the tops of the skirting marbles level—had no structural relation with the twelfth-century foundation masonry (Fig. 60).[9] Thus Oates' dating for the footing may be called into question.

An examination of the skirting and its position in the naos suggests instead a fourteenth-century date. Furthermore, much of the wall area now lined with skirting would have been open in the twelfth century: a doorway to the diaconicon, a large, arched opening in the south naos wall, and a niche in the apse, all blocked in the fourteenth century, are lined with skirting with the same detailing maintained throughout (Fig. 50). As we shall see, the twelfth-century church may not have been revetted; in this case, skirting would have been unnecessary before the fourteenth century.

The revetments follow a similar system of arrangement on all wall surfaces of the naos and bema and are organized into two zones (Figs. 50–53). The dado zone rises between 1.48 and 1.58 m above the floor and consists of repeat patterns of Proconnesian marble in panels of varying widths, separated by vertical bands of verde antico or rosso antico. The dado is topped by two bands of verde antico and rosso antico, set off by bullnose moldings. The larger, upper zone consists of sets of matched panels of Proconnesian marble, bianco e nero antico, and cipollino rosso, set off against a background of pavonazzetto. The western piers include panels of honey-colored onyx. There is a great variety of color and pattern to the panels which are set off alternately by bullnose and egg-and-dart moldings. Above the panels are two additional vertical bands of rosso antico and verde antico, as well as an inlaid, geometrically patterned frieze at the top, which is sloped back to fit under the twelfth-century cornice, positioned approximately 6.0 m above floor level (Fig. 62). An attempt has been made to arrange the patterns symmetrically; the north and south walls are almost mirror images of each other. The revetments of the bema have unfortunately been rearranged and are no longer in the proper order.[10]

[8] Ibid.; however, if the revetments were completely set before the floor was laid, as seems to have been the case, the fragments could also be from the 14th century.

[9] Verbal information from E. Hawkins.

[10] These may have been rearranged during the 1929–30 restoration, exposing the niche at the same time. For a view of the apse before the shuffling of the marbles, see Shmit, *Kakhrie-dzhami*, II, pl. 77. According to Hawkins, the mistake was compounded in 1949–50 when misdirected workmen cemented the loose marble onto the face of the masonry. Identification of marbles was based on a comparison with those at H. Sophia; see E. H. Swift, *Hagia Sophia* (New York, 1940), 73–75.

A close examination of the marbles indicates that the sources of many of the repeat patterns were columns or segments of columns. These were sliced lengthwise to form panels which repeat the same design but vary in width, determined by the section of the column.[11] The central panels of the dado zone of the north wall, for example, vary between 22 and 42 cm in width, with the widest panels placed at the middle of the repeating pattern (Fig. 52). The same variation in measurement is seen in the esonarthex revetments.

The recent examination of the building left open the question of the date of the naos revetments. Either these survived from the twelfth century or were the addition of Metochites in the fourteenth. Textual evidence supports the latter; one of Metochites' poems implies that the marbles of the floors and walls were provided by him. If originally from the earlier building, the revetment was at least partially replaced in the fourteenth century when certain wall openings were suppressed.[12]

The revetment is not set flush with the walls, which slant outward as they rise. The marble panels have been set at a slightly different angle, although not completely vertical, as is evident in each corner (Figs. 50–53). This discrepancy was interpreted by Underwood as meant to visually compensate for the outward lean of the naos walls.[13] The difference in angle between wall and revetment required an extra band at the top which slopes backward in order to underlap the twelfth-century marble cornice, which would have been otherwise hidden by the revetment. In Byzantine practice, revetment panels were never set flush against the masonry surface; an air space between the two was necessary to compensate for variations in the two surfaces (see, for example, Fig. 112). But this does not totally explain why the slope of the walls and the angle of the revetment do not coincide; nor do they account for the awkward angling back of the upper borders of the revetment. Even if the revetment had been laid at the same angle as the wall, the Comnenian cornice would still have been too shallow to have topped revetment. For this reason, it may be suggested that the twelfth-century naos was instead decorated with painted plaster below the cornice.[14]

Other evidence supports this hypothesis. The reveals of the doorway to the diaconicon were frescoed in the twelfth century, and the doorway itself blocked in the fourteenth century (Fig. 70).[15] The twelfth-century church also had a large arch in the south wall, opening to a smaller chapel. Now hidden behind revetment in the naos, the arch is visible in the spaces between the naos and the parecclesion (Figs. 102–103). The covering of nicked plaster still survives in the soffit, the first rendering for mosaic. A niche in the twelfth-century apse, now exposed, was concealed behind the fourteenth-century revetment, but was undoubtedly uncovered originally (Fig. 50). No trace of its decoration survives, but it was probably plastered and painted; there is no indication of fixing pins for revetment. All of this suggests that the twelfth-century naos may not have been

[11] Where the revetment could be measured, it is 2–3 cm thick.

[12] As above, note 4; also Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 18; Oates, "Report," 228.

[13] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 18; II, pl. 5. See also Hjort, "Sculpture," 236 and fig. 39.

[14] As suggested by E. Hawkins; see Hjort, "Sculpture," 236. Large quantities of painted plaster, uncovered in the bema excavations, may be from the wall covering of the Phase IV naos. The Kosmosoteira at Pherrai, built by the same founder as the 12th-century Kariye, was frescoed both above and below the cornice; in addition, its naos walls exhibit a similar outward lean. See Sinos, *Klosterkirche*, pls. 4-5.

[15] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 266; III, pl. 529.

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revetted and that the present revetment is entirely the product of the fourteenth century.

(c) West wall (Figs. 51, 54). The marble revetment of the west wall survives to the cornice level. Both doors are framed in Proconnesian marble, and the main portal is topped by a reused, sixth-century lintel. Directly above this is the mosaic of the Koimesis, the only narrative composition to survive in the naos. The mosaic had been plastered over and painted to resemble marble, but was uncovered in 1929.[16]

The small portal to the north side has no southern counterpart, and this is probably not the original position of the opening. Removal of the marbles on the south reveal of the portal showed the eleventh-century wall to have been hacked back at that point.[17] The eleventh-century church had side entrances to the naos that were closer to the lateral walls, but were blocked by the insertion of the corner piers in the twelfth century (Figs. 11, 12). The north portal is presumed to have been added at that time, although there is no evidence for a southern counterpart after the eleventh century.[18] The asymmetry of the entrances may then date from the twelfth century. The reveals of the north portal are covered by "false door" panels of marble, spolia from the sixth century.[19] During the restoration the revetment of the southwest pier was removed. It was not bonded with the naos wall and was constructed of Phase IV recessed brick (Fig. 64).

The lunette area above the cornice is primarily twelfth-century construction (Fig. 54). The recessed brick includes three single bands of stone alternating with single courses of brick at mid level. The lower portion of the lunette window was blocked in the fourteenth century. Its mullions are more than half embedded in rubble fill. The window is the high-shouldered type with stilted arches. This does not appear to have been its original form; the upper portions of the central arch and the half arches on the sides have been rebuilt in fourteenth-century masonry. This is also true of the upper section of the western barrel vault, and the pendentives above it have also been rebuilt. This section was probably damaged with the collapse of the twelfth-century dome and required reconstruction in the early fourteenth century. The wood of both the upper and lower tie beams surviving in the mullions has proved to be Palaeologan; therefore the window must have been reconstructed from at least the stump of the mullion upwards.[20] The marble mullions of both the west and south lunette windows had been encased in Turkish masonry which diminished the size of the lights; this extraneous material was removed in 1956, in the course of considerable repair work by the Byzantine Institute of America.[21] Painted impost capitals and portions of the soffit mosaics survive in the west window.[22]

(d) South wall (Figs. 53–55). The marble revetment of the south wall consists of five framed panels set against the pavonazzetto background in the upper section. The lower section of the wall is somewhat irregular, including a door and an internal window, both off-center and at different heights. Much of the lower, east section of the revetment was replaced by the Byzantine Institute of America. In the Turkish conversion of the building, a second passageway had been broken through the wall and through the small oratory to connect with the parecclesion; a marble door frame of unknown origin had been set in the naos opening, surrounded by painted plaster imitating revetment.[23]

When this area was examined, a fragment of an arch was discovered in the surviving fourteenth-century masonry; a small window was reconstructed on this basis, opening from the oratory into the naos.[24] The modern frame was modeled after the window in the upper north wall. Eleventh- and twelfth-century masonry was also visible behind the revetment, indicating that there was a large opening on this side of the naos in both Comnenian building phases (Fig. 65).[25]

Above the string course, the construction is primarily twelfth-century, similar to the west lunette (Fig. 54). In the masonry coursing and the mullion capitals of the window, there is a slight rise from east to west. The lower portion of the window was blocked in the fourteenth century, and, in Turkish times, the mullions were encased in masonry and the level of the sill was raised with rubble fill. Both were removed in 1956, and the Palaeologan fill was cut down slightly, exposing the window mullions.[26] These had been fractured in the lower portions, and two mock bases of concrete were constructed as a safety measure. The twelfth-century construction survives to the crown of the arch, and the upper portion of the window is in its original form, with the crowns of the lights at the same height. Decorative mosaics survive in the soffits of all three arches, and a fragment of ornamental mosaic from the twelfth century was uncovered in the lower west reveal, concealed under the Palaeologan fill—proof that the upper portion of the Comnenian church was also decorated with mosaic.[27] The impost capitals were repainted in the fourteenth century with the monograms of Metochites (Fig. 55).[28]

(e) North wall (Fig. 52). The marble revetment of the north wall is identical in arrangement to the south wall, but without the openings. The major portion of the dado is formed by a single repeat pattern.[29] The upper section of revetment repeats the pattern of the opposite wall. The wall surface behind the revetment has not been examined.

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[16] For the lintel, see Hjort, "Sculpture," 224–25 and fig. 24. For the discovery of the mosaic, see del Medico, "La mosaïque de la *Koimēsis*," 123–41; for the wall before the discovery of the mosaic, see Shmit, *Kakhrie-dzhami*, II, pl. 78.

[17] Dumbarton Oaks photograph H56.465; the wall was thickened on the west side in the 14th century, as was observed when the south panel was removed in 1959.

[18] Oates, "Report," 226–28; the investigation in the area of the Deesis mosaic in the esonarthex indicated the original position of the south door.

[19] For a discussion of the false door panels, see Hjort, "Sculpture," 207–23 and pls. B, 1, 2.

[20] Information concerning the date of the beams courtesy of C. L. Striker. The window measures 3.94 m across by 2.36 m high (central light), rising 3.98 m above the cornice, while the fill rises ca. 0.62 m above the cornice.

[21] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 270.

[22] Ibid., 270 and fig. 2; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, II. pl. 8. The pattern of the capitals may have been retained from the 12th-century decoration and compares favorably with the capitals from the south church at the Pantokrator; see Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, pl. 10–22.

[23] This is visible in older illustrations; see, for example, Shmit, *Kakhrie-dzhami*, II, pl. 79. The area between the door and the southeast pier is replacement as high as the upper panels.

[24] Information from Hawkins, who instigated and directed the reconstruction.

[25] Oates, "Report," 226–28.

[26] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 270 and figs. 1–2. The window measures 3.84 m across by 2.80 m high, rising 4.04 m above the cornice.

[27] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 18; according to Hawkins, the plaster setting bed was more dense and chalk-like than the 14th-century plaster.

[28] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), fig. 2.

The upper portion of the wall is primarily twelfth-century recessed brick with occasional stone bands. The lower portion of the tripartite window was blocked, but to a much higher level because of the two-story annex behind the wall. The upper portions of the lights, of equal height, were blocked at a later date, probably in the nineteenth century when the annex roof was altered. The plastered fill is slightly recessed from the wall surface. In the lower portion of the original central light, a window to the upper annex chamber has been included. Awkwardly set, off-center and at a slight angle, the window appears to have been an afterthought. The masonry around the window had been broken and replaced in the same technique as the rest of the fill. It is most likely that an alteration occurred in the course of construction. The capitals of the original mullions were uncovered in the repairs of this area, and they bore traces of their original paint (Fig. 58).[30]

(f) Bema and east wall (Figs. 50, 59, 60). The apse measures 5.51 m across, maintaining the open, spacious character of the naos. An extra bay, trapezoidal in plan, connects the apse and the cruciform naos. The flanking piers are decorated with framed mosaic icons of Christ and the Virgin; traces of the marble frames still survive.[31] At the setback to the apse the stylobate of the iconostasis was discovered, and, just below the upper bands of revetment at this point, Forsyth observed notches that were undoubtedly related to the upper architrave of the templon screen.[32] On the north and south faces where the iconostasis met the wall, the marbles had been replaced, while on the west faces of the corners there was a "bite" where the architrave overlapped the revetment; this had been patched by the Turks.[33] In the center of the bema, the foundations for the altar canopy and possibly those of the altar table were excavated; thus, in a most general sense, the appearance of the bema with its furnishings can be reconstructed.

On the south pier, the arch of an elaborate, sculpted frame survives. The entire piece appears to have been reattached at a later date, but this was most certainly its original position.[34] Corbeled double columns apparently originally flanked the icons.

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[29] The panels measure in width from west to east: 24, 26, 29.5, 34, 40, 41, 42, 40.5, 37.5, 32, 25.5, 22 cm; these are ca. 2.5 cm thick. A small square hole at the top of one of the dado panels is probably original, but its purpose is unknown: it measures 36 cm by 35 cm, by 21 cm deep.

[30] Dumbarton Oaks photographs H56.262–.264; the faint designs are similar to the mullion capitals of the west lunette and to painted capitals from the south church at the Pantokrator; see Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, pl. 10–22. My thanks to Hawkins for information on the excavations in this area and their significance.

[31] Pulgher, *Anciennes églises*, pl. 23, shows the frame of the south icon more or less intact; see also H. Belting, "Konstantinopol'skaiȃ Kapitel' v Leningrade. Rel'efnaiȃ Plastika Pozdnevizatiiskoto Perioda v Kakhrie Dzhami," *Vizantiiȃ, Ivzhnye Slaviȃne i Drevniaiȃ Rus', Zapadnaiȃ Evropa*, Festschrift V. N. Lazarev (Moscow, 1973), 136–55; Hjort, "Sculpture," 225 ff.

[32] Information from G. Forsyth, excavation notes (1957); also Oates, "Report," 228. While the templon mosaics were probably related to the decoration of the iconostasis, the latter was stepped back from the piers.

[33] Forsyth, excavation notes. The cuttings were ca. 3.75–3.80 m above floor level.

[34] Belting, "Konstantinopol'skaiȃ Kapitel'," 136–55.

The canopy has disappeared on the north side, but undoubtedly there was one similar. During the restorations it was possible to examine the masonry of this pier, since the marble revetment was missing and the mosaic was damaged. Like the southwest pier, it was not bonded with the naos wall, and was constructed of recessed brick with irregular stone bands, all of a very crude nature; similarly it was determined to date from Phase IV. The revetment was replaced around the icon, and the missing areas of mosaic were filled in with plaster.

On the north side of the bema, a small portal leads to the prothesis. It is framed in marble, including its arched top. Opposite, on the south side of the bema, an arched niche is set into the wall. The twelfth-century opening to the diaconicon is directly behind this, but it was blocked in the fourteenth-century construction. The niche is framed by marbles in alternating colors. To the east of the prothesis entrance, originally behind the Palaeologan revetment, is an arched niche in the twelfth-century apse wall, very similar to those that articulate the exterior. The position counters the thickness of the wall, and there is probably a symmetrically positioned niche on the opposite side of the apse, still concealed behind the revetment.[35] On the south side of the apse is the Turkish mihrab.

The marble revetments of the bema, now rearranged, originally followed a pattern similar to the walls of the naos. Additional decoration is provided by four champlevé relief panels, positioned in the spandrels of the apse window (Fig. 61). These vary slightly in pattern and size, and are somewhat awkwardly set. In fact, these may be reused pieces: H. Buchwald dates them to the twelfth century, assuming that they belonged to the Phase IV decorative program.[36] The inlaid frieze which forms the upper border contains a cross design on the main axis (Fig. 62).

The tripartite mullioned window of the apse is topped by arches of the same height (Fig. 50). The reveals do not follow the curve of the apse but are cut straight through it, with the reveals and the mullions set almost parallel. The interior reveals were originally sheathed in marble, but part of the covering has disappeared. The exterior casing of the reveals survives, but has been drilled with holes to support a grille (Fig. 137). The excavators noted a double thickness to the brickwork of the north reveal but concluded that this was merely the joint of the interior and exterior wall facing.[37]

(g) Vaulting (Figs. 54–57). At the level of the string course, approximately 6.0 m above the floor, four short barrel vaults spring from the corner piers of the naos, rising to approximately 10.35 m above floor level. Except for the crown of the western arch, these are almost entirely of recessed brick construction from the twelfth century. Rectangular holes appear at the base of each arch, indicating the position of the original system of tie beams, now replaced by metal tie rods. At the entrance to the bema, tie beams reinforced the arch at two levels. The pendentives that join the arches and the dome cornice are similar in construction in their lower portions, but are Palaeologan in the upper areas. A ceramic pipe or jug was inserted toward the bottom of each and was probably exposed in the original decoration.[38]

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[35] As the niche is taller than the sill of the apse window, it does not seem likely that there were more than the two niches. The conch of the exposed niche is formed by bricks laid in a zigzag pattern.

[36] H. Buchwald, "The Carved Stone Ornament of the High Middle Ages in San Marco, Venice," *JÖBG* 13 (1964), 160–61. For a Palaeologan date and numerous comparisons, see M. Šuput, "Les reliefs byzantins remplis de pâte colorée des XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles" (in Serbian), *Zograf* 7 (1976), 36–44.

[37] Information from Hawkins. The window measures 3.10 m tall and 3.56 m wide at the sill; it is approximately 10 cm wider at the top.

The marble cornice of the dome was originally gessoed and painted with a rinceau motif, traces of which survive (Fig. 54). Carved bosses at the cardinal points contain the monograms of Metochites, indicating that this was his work.[39] Above the cornice, positioned approximately 11.52 m off the floor, the dome rises another 6.40 m to its crown. The drum and the beginning of the curvature of the vault are Byzantine masonry (Fig. 57). The sixteen gored segments of the drum are pierced by tall windows. The drum was reinforced with internal wooden chains, and the stubs of tie beams are exposed at two levels in the window reveals. The upper section of the dome is a Turkish replacement of wood and plaster, but evidently follows the curve of the Palaeologan dome.

The vaulting of the bema dates from the twelfth century (Fig. 50). It is constructed of bricks, laid in radial courses. The conch is pierced by two ceramic jugs, similar to the pendentives. On the south side, a long crack runs through the conch. It has been repaired and is not immediately evident, but is part of a major structural flaw in the eastern portion of the building.

2. *Pastophoria*

The two small, domed chapels flanking the bema were both constructed in the fourteenth century, probably along the lines of the older, twelfth-century pastophoria (Figs. 6, 24). The entrance to the south chapel was blocked in the fourteenth century, and the chapel may have then served as the prothesis for the parecclesion, from which it is entered, or more likely as a separate chapel.[40] The north chapel, accessible from the bema, most likely served the standard function of prothesis, for the preparation of the eucharist, as the faintly visible frescoes of liturgical angels in the dome suggest (Fig. 67). Since the fourteenth-century church had no proper diaconicon, this chamber may have had a dual function or, alternatively, allowed access to the northern annex, which may have functioned as the diaconicon.[41]

(a) Prothesis (Figs. 66–68). The prothesis is nearly rectangular in plan, measuring on the interior 4.95 m wide by 3.42 m deep, extended to the east by an apse. The vaulting bears little relationship to the simplicity of the plan. The main area is covered

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[38] Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 135; also S. Nenadović, "Les pots résonnants dans les églises médiévales serbes" (in Serbian), *Zbornik Architektonskog Fakulteta* 5 (1960), 3–11. These are generally interpreted to be for acoustic purposes, although their function is not clear. They may represent a holdover from the Roman practice of using amphorae to lighten the weight of vaulting.

[39] Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 39.

[40] Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 23, suggested that this may have been a baptistery because of a "well" discovered in the apse, ca. 25 cm deep. This seems unlikely; the well is probably from the Turkish period; although its purpose is unclear; see Fig. 73 of the present study. T. F. Mathews, "'Private' Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture: Toward a Re-Appraisal," *Cahiers archéologiques* 30 (1982), 134, suggests that both the prothesis and diaconicon functioned as separate chapels.

[41] As suggested by Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 22–24.

by a blind, gored dome which rises directly from the dome cornice, without a drum, to a height of approximately 5.70 m above the floor. Because of the rectangular plan and the irregular positions of openings, the supports for the dome are quite irregular; two of the arches spring from corbels, and, on the west wall, pendentives rise directly from the wall surface. All walls, vaults, niches, and window reveals were originally frescoed, although only ruinous fragments of the original decoration survive.

The floor level of the prothesis is about 20 cm lower than that of the bema. Pieces of the original floor survive in the northwest and southwest corners of the chapel, indicating that this was also the case in the fourteenth century.

The wall construction is of two distinct types of masonry. Most of the wall surfaces are fourteenth-century, with three courses of brick alternating with four of stone. This coursing continues uninterrupted into the north annex. In the southwest corner, around the portal to the bema, the walls are of twelfth-century recessed brick, alternating with irregular stone courses. The vaulting is entirely of brick.

These two major phases are easily discernible in the west wall. The twelfth-century masonry of the southern half continues into the reveal of the portal, and on the west wall it has been hacked back at an odd angle, presumably to enlarge the area around the portal (Figs. 11–12). The remainder of the wall is of typically fourteenth-century masonry and includes an arched opening leading to passageway A.[42] Behind this are the remains of a wall constructed of recessed brick and dating from the eleventh century. It was visible before the reconstruction through the large cracks in the dome and upper wall.[43]

The north wall is topped by a narrow arch, springing from a corbel on the west side and a segment of wall to the east (Fig. 66). The wall contains two irregular niches on the lower level and two windows on the upper level; the windows and niches are not aligned vertically, although the windows are arranged symmetrically.[44] The windows had been blocked but were reopened in the 1950s. Fresco plaster partially covers the upper eastern side of the wall, indicating that the windows and niches are original, although the masonry has been entirely repointed. The west niche is a simple, arched indentation.[45] The east niche was apparently identical to the west niche but was enlarged and given an irregular shape, breaking the west side of its arched top, but only the upper portion expanded (Fig. 66). This is likely to have occurred in the process of construction in the fourteenth century, as much of the fresco plaster survives in the niche and corresponds with the plaster on the wall above.[46]

The east wall steps in to an apse that is slightly greater than a semicircle in plan. The curve of the apse is emphasized by the cornice, which comes to sharp points at the extremities. Part of the original fresco plaster survives on the north wall, indicating that while the apse has been largely rebuilt, the fourteenth-century form has been maintained, and that the coursing of the masonry aligned with both the north wall and with the exterior.

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[42] The arched opening measures 1.23 m wide by 2.63 m tall.

[43] Dumbarton Oaks photographs H56.272, H56.277.

[44] Set 28 cm apart, the windows measure 39–41 cm wide by 135 cm high; the sills are ca. 2.10 m above floor level.

[45] The west niche measures 68 cm wide, 115 cm high, 34 cm deep, with a sill 52 cm above the floor.

[46] The east niche measures 70 cm wide at the base, 108 cm wide where expanded, 115 cm high, 39 cm deep, with a sill 49 cm above the floor.

Much reconstruction has taken place in this area. Prior to 1956 the apse had deteriorated and had been reinforced with a covering of Turkish rubble masonry. This was replaced in 1956, and the wall of the apse was reconstructed along its original lines. The tripartite, mullioned window was completely reconstructed, although probably close to its original form (Figs. 16, 135).[47]

In the south wall, the eastern half is of Palaeologan brick and stone construction, continuous with that of the apse. The western half of the wall is of twelfth-century recessed brick alternating with irregular bands of stone and is continuous with the southern section of the west wall. The arch of the portal to the bema is also of recessed brick. Fragments of fresco survive in the doorway. The soffits of the arch are striated in gray to resemble Proconnesian marble, and the lower areas were probably the same.

The eastern half of the south wall includes an arched niche, set flush against the eastern wall.[48] Some fresco plaster survives here as well, but in very fragmentary condition. The back wall of the niche is not bonded, but is rubble fill against the exterior wall of the twelfth-century apse. Prior to restoration, the upper part of the prothesis wall was rather fragmentary and the first setback of a recess was visible behind the fourteenth-century facing. The excavators were able to determine that the niches which articulate the exterior of the apse continue behind the joint to the prothesis.

Except for the arched portal to the bema, nothing remains from the twelfth-century prothesis. The excavations revealed the foundations of the outer wall of the eleventh-century prothesis, which corresponds to the smaller eleventh-century bema, but no trace of the twelfth-century walls (Figs. 11–12). With the exception of the hacked back southwest corner, all the surfaces are finished, suggesting that the twelfth-century prothesis was not bonded to the naos.

The square base, from which spring the arches and pendentives to support the dome, is awkwardly joined to the rectangular plan of the prothesis (Fig. 67). There are wide arches to the north and south, awkwardly corbeled on the west side, where the vaulting rises directly from the wall. The octagonal brick dome is scalloped and slightly irregular in form. Because of the size of the scallops, the overall diameter of the dome is nearly a full meter wider than the cornice. Large areas of fresco survive. Serious cracks were repaired on the west side of the dome in the 1950s. At that time a fragment of parapet slab which had been recarved was uncovered in the cornice (Fig. 68).[49] The entire vault was consolidated with an external concrete cap.

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[47] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 269–70, figs. 3–4. The window measures 1.31 m wide by 1.32 m high.

[48] The niche measures 57 cm wide, 98 cm high, 38 cm deep, with a sill 61 cm above the floor. See also Dumbarton Oaks photograph H56.268.

[49] The cornice of the dome measures ca. 2.45 m in diameter and is positioned approximately 4.25 m above the floor. For illustrations of the frescoes, see Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, III, pls. 521-24. The fragment of sculpture came to light during repairs in the prothesis and was subsequently obscured by the repair of the pendentive. The pattern of the carved surface can be reconstructed as an eight-sided radial design with branch patterns between each arm. At the inner edge of the circular border, the radial elements curve to form volutes centered on shallow drill holes. The carving is crisp and shallow. All of these features suggest an 11th-century date; for comparisons, see A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines du Moyen Age (XI^{e}–XIV^{e} siècle)* (Paris, 1976), pls. 4-10, 14, 20, 24–26. For further discussion, see Ousterhout, *Architecture*, 217.

(b) Diaconicon (Figs. 69–73). The diaconicon is also rectangular in plan, measuring 4.33 m wide and 3.21 m deep. The height is 2.37 m to the springing of the arches and 4.15 m to the base of the dome cornice. The area is enlarged by a semicircular apse, offset on the north side of the east wall. The only entrance is from the parecclesion to the south, the floor level of which is ca. 27 cm higher than the diaconicon floor. A portal opened from the bema in the twelfth century, but was blocked in the Palaeologan construction. Except for the southern third, which is topped by a barrel vault, the chamber is covered by a tall dome on pendentives, which is somewhat awkwardly set into the rectangular space.

The wall construction is almost exclusively fourteenth-century, with four bands of brick to four of stone, except in the middle zone of each wall, which has five bands of stone.[50] A small section of twelfth-century recessed brick construction survives in the northwest corner, as well as around the blocked doorway. The walls and vaults were originally covered with frescoes. Large areas of decoration survive in the dome, although remains are fragmentary elsewhere. Frescoes from the twelfth century were uncovered in the reveals of the blocked door of the bema (Fig. 70).

Much restoration has been done in the apse area. Prior to the 1950s the entire surface had been buried in the Turkish rubble masonry. The additions were removed, and the fragments of late Byzantine masonry exposed (Figs. 24, 72). Enough survived to reconstruct the apse wall and the tripartite mullioned window with accuracy.[51] Fresco plaster still survives on the lower curvature of the apse and the north reveal of the apse window, indicating that the coursing continued uninterrupted from the north wall surface. The angles of the windows follow the curvature of the wall rather than having parallel reveals. The entire length of the east wall is topped by a simple cornice, the only one in the chamber.

The south wall includes the door to the parecclesion, set into an arched opening. To the east of the door, an arched niche is set into the wall.[52] The wall is topped by a lunette formed by the barrel vault that springs from the cornice on the east side and a long, projecting corbel on the west side. Small remnants of red and blue fresco survive on the west side of the wall.

The west wall rises to the height of the finely profiled corbel in the southern section (Fig. 69).[53] Several patches of nicked plaster survive on the upper wall surface and are probably the first rendering for fresco. Two frescoed niches appear in the southern portion of the wall, identical in size and placed side by side.[54] These are decorated with crosses and scroll patterns in ochre on a white background. The north corner of the wall includes a small fragment of twelfth-century wall surface (Fig. 70). The construc-

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[50] The extra course was necessary to match the masonry of the diaconicon with that of the parecclesion, with which it is bonded; the extra course corresponds with the lower string course of the parecclesion apse.

[51] Dumbarton Oaks photograph H57.435; also Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 269 ff. The window measures 87 cm by 132 cm.

[52] The niche measures 57 cm wide, 86 cm high, 37 cm deep, with a sill 77 cm above the floor.

[53] The corbel measures 147 cm by 19 cm, projecting 35 cm from the wall surface at a height of 2.23 m above the floor.

[54] The niches measure 59 cm wide, 90 cm high, 35 cm deep, with sills 76–80 cm above the floor.

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tion is irregular, partially covered by fourteenth-century fresco, and leads to the doorway in the north wall.

The western corner of the north wall immediately surrounding the blocked doorway to the bema and possibly a small section of the upper wall are from the twelfth century, continuing from the adjacent section of the west wall. The construction includes several areas of recessed brick, notably the arch over the blocked doorway. The rubble fill of the passage was removed in the 1950s, exposing the twelfth-century frescoes of the reveals, which represent crosses and instruments of the Passion (Fig. 70).[55] The Comnenian wall section stops abruptly at the east side of the portal and is leveled off about 40 cm above the opening. The wall arch of the west wall is set directly into the top of the twelfth-century masonry.

The remainder of the north wall is of Palaeologan construction. At its western extreme, it may be simply a facing against the twelfth-century diaconicon wall—or the exterior apse wall. During the excavations of this chamber, a fragment of the twelfth-century foundation was uncovered, running at a slightly different angle than the present wall (see Fig. 11). Unfortunately the area between the fourteenth-century wall and the twelfth-century naos could not be explored. At the east side of the north wall is a small niche with fragmentary fresco remains similar to the others in the chamber.[56]

Like its counterpart in the prothesis, the vaulting of the diaconicon awkwardly creates a square base for a dome within a rectangular format (Fig. 71). The dome has been pushed to the northern extremity of the room, while the southern third is covered by a barrel vault. This vault forms one of the arches supporting the pendentives and dome; another is formed by the conch of the apse, and an arch projects from the west wall. On the north side the pendentives rise directly from the wall. In order to place the barrel vault on the same alignment as the dome, its western base is corbeled outward. The offset position of the dome and apse may have resulted out of consideration for the upper passage which runs between the naos and parecclesion. This may be seen on the east facade (Figs. 6, 135).

The dome rises on a drum above a circular cornice. Octagonal and ribbed, it measures approximately 2.65 m in diameter. Only three of its eight segments include windows, opening to the east; the other sides of the drum are flush against masonry of other building units. The exposed dome was necessary to provide light to the interior; without it the room would have been lit only by the small apse window. The dome had been severely fractured and was restored both inside and out in the 1950s.

Although the original marble floor had disappeared, the excavators discovered the fourteenth-century bed of pinkish plaster, which still survived to a great extent. The imprint of the marble slabs in the setting bed indicated the configuration of the floor covering: the major area was covered by two large squares of slabs surrounded by individual borders (Fig. 73).[57] The apse was at a slightly higher level, as it is today, indicated by a small fragment of the original flooring still in situ on the north side. A round sinking was discovered in the apse floor, of uncertain purpose.[58] The floor area was excavated in 1958, and most of the setting bed removed at that time. It is now covered by modern tiles.

3. Northern Annex (Figs. 13, 21, 22, 74–80)

The two-storied annex on the north side of the building consists of long, barrel-vaulted chambers on both levels. The lower chamber, referred to as passageway A, connects the inner narthex and the prothesis. The upper chamber is accessible by way of a flight of stairs in the north wall of the building. Passageway A may have served as the diaconicon, while the upper chamber may have served as the *skevophylakion*, or treasury, or perhaps as the library for Metochites' famous collection of manuscripts.

(a) Passageway A (Figs. 21, 74). The lower chamber is rectangular, measuring internally 10.14 m by 2.99 m. While the length is dictated by the main body of the naos, the width conforms to neither the exterior northern surfaces of the narthexes to the west nor to the prothesis to the east; the connection is awkward with both. The projection of the wall beyond these surfaces is dictated by at least two planning considerations: to align the upper exposed barrel vault with the north esonarthex dome, and to allow enough exposed surface on the eastern wall to include two windows to light the interior—otherwise the lower chamber would have been completely dark. A door to the exterior was added in the north wall in Turkish times.

All of the exposed wall surface is fourteenth-century, alternating three courses of brick to four of stone. The vaulting of the chamber is entirely of brick, rising to a height of 4.95 m above the floor. It is separated from the lower wall surface by a cornice on all four walls. The entire unit has a slight northward lean, probably the result of the settling of the fourteenth-century foundations.

The north wall contains two niches, and the surviving masonry indicates that a third existed, but was removed when the later doorway to the exterior was added. There are some fragmentary remains of fourteenth-century painting in the niches, and the backs appear to have been decorated with simple crosses in deep red on a cream background.[59] The exterior portal at the west end of the north wall is a more recent addition and is constructed of large stone blocks, while the lintel is of concrete. Two reused sculpted blocks set into the western reveal may be fitted together to form a monogram in a roundel (Figs. 75–77). The monogram can be reconstructed as that of the Asan family, and the stones may have come from an arcosolium tomb in the exonarthex.[60] At the opposite end of the wall, a small portal leads to the stairway. The coursing of the interior wall differs from that of the exterior; however, the two were probably constructed independently, with the stairway between.

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[55] Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 266; III, pl. 529.

[56] The niche measures 58 cm wide, 63 cm high, 34 cm deep, with a sill 98 cm above the floor. The position was apparently altered in the course of construction: a section of an arch identical in height remains in the wall 23 cm to the west.

[57] The floor was probably of Proconnesian marble with verde antico borders, similar to the naos and esonarthex.

[58] As above, note 40; Hawkins has suggested that it may be the remnant of a Turkish hearth.

[59] See Fig. 21 for positions of niches. The east niche measures 62 cm wide, 84 cm high, 41.5 cm deep, with a sill 74 cm above the floor; the central niche measures 64 cm wide, 98 cm high, 40 cm deep, with a sill 78 cm above the floor.

[60] The two fragments measure 27.6 by 25 cm and 28 by 23 cm respectively. The reconstructed monogram is identical to devices that appear on the garments of the central figure in Tomb E in the exonarthex, identified as Irene Raoulaina Palaeologina, the mother-in-law of the daughter of Theodore Metochites, interred ca. 1325–30; see Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 284 ff and fig. E. For further discussion of the fragments, see Ousterhout, *Architecture,* 215–16.

The masonry of the north annex is bonded in both the northeast and southeast corners, but there is an irregular joint in the lower courses of the east wall where the courses are not aligned: this is corrected in the upper levels. The break corresponds to the union of the prothesis construction to that of the northern annex; a similar joint appears on the exterior of the building, but occurs at the corner, suggesting that the construction of the prothesis preceded that of the northern annex. No such break is to be seen in the foundations, indicating that the forms of the building had been planned and laid out beforehand.

A large, arched opening in the south side of the east wall leads directly into the prothesis; there is no indication that the two were ever closed off by a door; the present partition was added in 1979. The floor level of the annex is ca. 15 cm higher than that of the prothesis, and the surviving marble step and fragments of prothesis flooring indicate that this was also the case in the fourteenth century.[61]

Two windows appear in the north half of the east wall, one above the other, but not vertically aligned. The large window below the cornice is flush against the north edge of the wall, and on the exterior flush with the wall of the prothesis, the maximum width possible (Fig. 143). The small window above the cornice is set in slightly to fit under the curve of the barrel vault. The nonalignment of supporting elements here continues with the window in the upper story, and, combined with the settling of the foundations, caused severe cracking in this wall. The south wall of the north annex, built as a facing to the Comnenian naos wall, enjoyed the security of preexisting foundations, while the outer, north wall did not. The cracking of the east wall is quite evident on the exterior, and on the interior the cornice has slipped above the lower window. Much of this wall has been repaired.

Fresco remains of geometric design and ornamental patterns survive in the reveals of both windows, indicating that these are original.[62] Both were blocked before the early twentieth century because of structural weaknesses in this area; the windows were uncovered in the 1950s.

An arched portal to the esonarthex is centrally positioned in the west wall. On either side, the alternating brick and stone coursing corresponds to the adjoining wall and is bonded at the corners. However, the courses are not aligned on the facing north and south walls; consequently, on the west wall there is an irregular joint above the door to the esonarthex. Evidently the north and south walls were constructed independently and then joined at the west end. The odd joint occurs at another point of structural weakness. Above the doorway is a small window, slightly off axis with the door (Fig. 106). This, as well as the relieving arch above the door, is original and bears traces of painted plaster covering. The form of the upper window is irregular, but it appears from the surviving fresco in the reveal that it was always that way. A serious fracture

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[61] Dumbarton Oaks photographs H57.503, H57.443.

[62] Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* III, 531c. The decorative patterns correspond with those on the ceiling of passageway B and in the prothesis.

was repaired at this point in the 1950s; prior to this time the window had been filled, probably for structural reasons. The fracture here corresponded to a larger break in the building caused by the settling of the foundations. Along the same line, some slippage has occurred in the voussoirs of the barrel vault, and a serious fracture appeared in the north esonarthex dome. Much restoration has been done in this area in order to consolidate the masonry and remove the Turkish additions.

In order to compensate for the structural deficiencies in the barrel vault, three pointed arches of brick and stone were inserted at an undetermined date, probably by the Turks (Fig. 74). The construction does not correspond with that of the pointed arches inserted in the outer narthex. The character of the stonework of the arches in the north annex is similar to the finish around the door in the north wall, and it seems likely that these two alterations were contemporaneous.

The bases of the inserted arches have been cut into the wall without corbels. The arches are of brick, while the upper portions are of cut stone. These clearly postdate the construction of the annex, as the arches are constructed over the projection of the cornice and directly over the fresco plaster of the upper walls and vault. The imposts of these arches are at different heights.

(b) Staircase (Figs. 22, 78). A flight of stairs in the thickness of the north wall of the annex leads to an upper chamber. The stairway is covered by a ramping barrel vault with domical vaults over each landing. The construction is highly irregular, and the slope of the vault is not as steep as the stairs; the ceiling is consequently much lower at the top. The stairs are similarly narrower at the top than at the bottom, thinning from 77 cm to 70 cm. The domical vaults are awkwardly fitted to the spaces and do not correspond to the plans of the landings. Arches at odd angles join the two domical vaults to the ramping barrel vault. The stair passage is almost completely plastered on the interior so that little of the masonry construction is visible. Around the windows, where the plaster is missing, the coursing appears to be the same as the exterior. Just short of the top step, the plaster has fallen away to reveal a piece of early Byzantine marble relief, reused in the fourteenth-century construction (Fig. 79).[63]

The stairs are lit by four small, splayed windows, placed so that one lights each landing, and two appear on the stairway.[64] Remnants of both pink and white plaster strips in the reveals indicate that the windows were once glazed; all are presently open. At the upper landing, a marble door frame facing into the stairwell leads to the upper chamber.

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[63] The exposed surface of the fragment measures 47 by 15 cm. The design is simple, representing a diamond pattern and a short fillet set within rectangular frames. The modeling is somewhat heavy and undetailed. The piece should probably be grouped with the fragments of a chancel screen (?) discussed by Hjort, "Sculpture," 271, figs. 98–99, perhaps dating from the 6th century.

[64] The lowest window measures 36 cm deep, 42 cm inside width, 16 cm outside width (worn; not original measure), 76 cm inside height, 83 cm outside height, sill 131 cm above floor. The second window measures 36 cm deep, 40 cm inside width, 6 cm outside width, 81 cm inside height, 84 cm outside height, sill 74 cm above sixth step. The third window measures 52 cm deep, 44 cm inside width, 8 cm outside width, 47 cm inside height, 60 cm outside height, sill 84 cm above eleventh step. The fourth window measures 54 cm deep, 32 cm inside width, 9 cm outside width, 76 cm inside height, 68 cm outside height, sill 94 cm above upper landing. The doorway on the upper landing measures 99 cm wide by 1.63 m tall.

(c) Upper Chamber (Figs. 13, 21, 80). The upper chamber of the north annex is barrel vaulted and similar in size to the lower passageway, but slightly smaller, measuring 2.97 m by 9.79 m; the vault rises approximately 3.50 m above the floor. The eastern half of the upper room is well lit by three niched windows, but the possibility of natural lighting was excluded in the western half by the position of the stairs and the north dome of the narthex. A window in the south wall overlooks the naos. The internal surfaces are entirely plastered. The floor in the eastern half has been raised by the addition of a wooden floor, and a wooden partition separates the room into two halves; these presumably were added when the chamber served as the residence of the caretaker. The area has not been subject to any systematic archeological examination.

Other than the entrance, the entire west half of the chamber is without articulation. To the east, two large niches in the north wall enclose windows. Small square windows are set into small arches, offset in the larger niches (Fig. 80).[65] While these are not symmetrically positioned with respect to the interior, the placement of the windows corresponds to the exterior articulation of the north facade: each is centered in a recess. The frames of the windows are original and of marble. Cuttings indicate that these were once covered with a grille. Drainage channels have been cut into the sills, but differ slightly on each.[66]

The short, eastern wall has a central niche, slightly smaller than those of the north wall.[67] Its articulation also differs, lacking a second setback to the window. The window is slightly off-center, with respect to both the interior and exterior articulation, which correspond on this wall. A large protrusion has been added to the reveal of the niche to support a stovepipe. The east window is not aligned with the two below, and serious cracks have appeared on the exterior from the structural weakness in this area. On the interior, the fracture is concealed behind a layer of plaster.

The south wall is plain except for a deep, central niche containing a window which overlooks the naos, and a smaller niche to the east. The large niche breaks into the wall at a slight angle. Investigation on the naos side of the wall suggests that the inclusion of this opening was an afterthought and that the window was knocked through only after the completion of the north annex.[68]

4. *Parecclesion* (Figs. 23, 81–93)

The parecclesion of the Kariye Camii was built entirely *de novo* in the fourteenth century. Attached to the south flank of the naos, it functioned as a funerary chapel, housing the tombs of Theodore Metochites and others. The chapel is long and single-aisled; the plan measures 15.96 m by 4.96 m, over three times as long as it is wide. The length is further accentuated by the final two bays of the exonarthex, on the same axis and similar in dimension to the central bays of the parecclesion.

The parecclesion is divided into two square, domed bays, extended to the east and west by short, barrel-vaulted units, terminating in a semicircular apse to the east. The first square is covered by a dodecagonal, ribbed dome on a tall, freestanding drum pierced by twelve windows. The second is covered by a low domical vault. The conch of the apse is lower still, and a carefully modulated, cascading rhythm is formed, from tall dome, to low dome, to half dome, offering the visitor a panoramic sweep of the chapel's fresco decoration, which survives almost in its entirety (Fig. 81).[69]

The chapel is entered from the west through a triple arched opening, supported on two columns (Fig. 84). Two other portals in the north wall lead to passageway B and to the diaconicon. Each portal is topped by a semicircular relieving arch containing a window. Two other internal windows appear in the north wall: one opens to a small storeroom west of the passage; the other, above the cornice, opens into a gallery-level passage. In the south wall, two tripartite windows, centrally set in each bay above the cornice, light the interior.

Four tomb arcosolia are arranged one on each side of the central bays.[70] Those in the south wall are centered in each respective bay, while those in the north wall are offset to include a door in each bay, disrupting the sense of symmetry. A thin pilaster strip separates the central bays, and the walls to the north and south bays both include setbacks. This, in combination with the deep arcosolia, creates a lively wall surface; in the lower portion, the planar surface of the wall is almost totally dissolved. The apse is close to the full width of the chapel and steps in only slightly from the wall surface. It is lit by a small, mullioned window.

The construction technique of the parecclesion consists of four courses of brick alternating with four courses of stone. This is visible on the exterior, but, because of the excellent state of preservation of the frescoes, very little surface was left exposed on the interior. The vaulting, where visible, is entirely of brick. The original system of tie beams has been replaced by metal tie rods. The present floor is entirely modern.

As elsewhere in the fourteenth-century building, all surfaces that were not in themselves decorative were decorated. The walls and vaults were entirely covered with fresco in the original program. The dado zone was painted to imitate marble paneling, topped by an illusionistically painted molding. The chamfered, marble string course was originally gessoed and painted with a rinceau pattern, as were the tie beams (Fig. 91). The sculptural decoration was also highlighted with paint. The tomb arcosolia, decorated subsequently, were either in mosaic or fresco.

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[65] The niches measure 1.60 m wide, 2.03–2.06 m wide and ca. 0.85 m deep.

[66] For illustration, see Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, fig. 100, and Rüdell, *Kahrie-Dschamisi*, pl. 9.

[67] The east niche measures 1.0 m wide, 2.23 m high and 0.42 m deep.

[68] The large niche measures 0.88 m wide, 1.14 m deep, and 2.10 m tall. Hawkins suggests that this window may have been inserted only after Metochites' return from exile in 1330. However, there is evidence in both pastophoria of minor changes in construction effected in the course of building, and the addition of this window may have been similar. The small niche, 89 cm to the east of the opening, measures 58 cm wide, 80 cm high, and 33 cm deep. Here it may also be instructive to remove the plaster and view the masonry. It seems probable that the 33 cm depth of the niche is the same thickness as the Palaeologan addition to the naos wall; in this case, the back wall of the niche would be 12th-century masonry.

[69] For the fresco decoration, see Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 192 ff; for the restoration of the frescoes, see the preliminary reports cited above, note 1; for additional measurements, see Underwood, "First Preliminary Report," *DOP* 9–10 (1956), 257.

[70] For the tombs, see Underwood, "Third Preliminary Report," *DOP* 12 (1958), 271 ff; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 269 ff; III, pls. 533-39.

The foundations of the parecclesion were also constructed entirely in the fourteenth century, destroying any record of previous construction on the site. The substructure encloses two long, barrel-vaulted cisterns, which run the length of the chapel above.

(a) West wall, entrance (Figs. 81, 84–86). The parecclesion is entered from the exonarthex through a tribelon. A small window appears in the lunette above. In the reveals of the flanking walls, the change of technique from mosaic to fresco is visible, with the same decorative motifs appearing side by side, but executed in different media.[71] Here also the marble revetment and skirting of the narthex stop, and the painted imitation marble dado of the chapel begins, marking a different system of wall division for the parecclesion. The cornice, however, continues into the parecclesion at the same height and without a break (Fig. 85).

The construction of the entrance is somewhat perplexing (Fig. 84). The bases, columns, and capitals are all spolia, neither matched nor well fitted. The reused bases have been cut down to irregular octagons; they vary in size and alignment. The columns are also different sizes; the south one is of verde antico, while its slightly taller, north counterpart is of Proconnesian marble. Both are strengthened by bronze collars at the top and bottom. Above these are early Byzantine acanthus capitals, dating from the sixth century.[72] These have been hacked down to fit the smaller diameter of the columns, and the awkward joint is masked by the collars. Above the capitals, blocks have been inserted to adjust them to the imposts which sit at different heights.

The many incongruities should be explained by the loss of much of the closure material as well as by repairs from damage sustained in this area. The Byzantine Institute repaired a fairly severe crack in the lunette above the entrance in the 1950s, which at present is almost invisible.[73] Upon close examination, it is apparent that the south side was fractured and is slightly lower than the north, perhaps the result of a combination of earthquake damage and the uneven settling of foundations.[74] The shift is evident in the central arch, the peak of which is no longer semicircular. The north column is properly aligned and has cuttings corresponding to the wall divisions, discussed below, while the verde antico column to the south is out of line at the base, slightly shorter, and lacking significant cuttings. This mismatched column may be a later replacement, inserted after structural damage had occurred in this area.

There are indications that the parecclesion was originally more isolated from the exonarthex than it appears today and that the tripartite opening was capable of being entirely closed. This would have been necessary in the fourteenth century when the exonarthex was much more open in character. The closure would also have emphasized the independent nature of the chapel as an architectural unit.

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[71] There is some overlap of technique; see R. Gettens and G. Stout, "A Monument of Byzantine Wall Painting—the Method of Construction," *Studies in Conservation* 3, no. 3 (1958), 116–17.

[72] Hjort, "Sculpture," 246–48, pls. 55–60.

[73] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 11 (1957), pl. 19.

[74] The north wall rests on or near Comnenian foundations, while the south wall is supported by 14th-century foundations.

Cuttings were discovered by the excavators in the wall reveals of the flanking walls, running from the floor level to the cornice, with notches at two levels (Fig. 85). These give an indication of the original appearance of the side openings. The lower notches correspond in height with the top of the dado zone in the parecclesion, while the upper division is accentuated by an indentation in the fresco border of the parecclesion decoration. The cuttings and notches appear clearly on both sides; in addition, the south column is notched at the level of the lower balustrade. The lower areas on either side were presumably filled with a parapet slab topped by a balustrade; between this and the second horizontal division may have been casements.[75] Above this, and above the cornice, would have been glazing. The same sort of division is seen in the windows on the gallery level of H. Sophia in Istanbul.

Remnants of the reddish plaster setting for glazing survive in the window of the lunette and tops of the three arches. A tie beam originally closed off the base of these arches, just above the cornice; this is now replaced by a tie rod. The glazing no doubt extended below this level, to the upper balustrade on the side intercolumniations. The capitals of the two columns bear traces of paint—blue background and yellow or gold foilage—except for thin strips on either side where the glazing plaster would have appeared.

Originally a door would have been positioned between the two columns; the sill survives, although the pieces of flooring around it have been replaced. Hawkins noted marking in the flooring in the 1950s, worn by a bivalve door; these are no longer evident. Hjort suggests a pair of tall, narrow doors between the columns, but does not indicate how they would have been attached. The solution is provided by an analogous situation at the entrance to the northern annex of the Kilise Camii in Istanbul, of a similar date: a marble doorframe is cemented between the two columns (Figs. 161–163).[76] At the Kariye parecclesion, the distance between the two columns is rather narrow, ca. 1.25 m at the base, but wide enough to fit a doorframe; there are a number this size or smaller in the Kariye. Thus a restoration may be proposed which includes a bivalve door and its frame in the central intercolumniation, with glazing above (Fig. 86).[77]

(b) South wall. The south wall is the most regular in the Palaeologan addition, with windows and arcosolia placed centrally in the large bays, forming neat, self-contained units. Above the cornice in each bay are tripartite, mullioned windows; the central light of each is topped by a stilted arch, while the flanking lights are topped by quadrant arches which terminate at the base of the central arch. A large structural crack, ca. 8 cm wide, runs through the entire eastern bay, through the window and arcosolium (Fig. 89). This has been carefully repaired, but the separation of the two parts of the building is still noticeable.

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[75] As suggested by Hawkins; see Hjort, "Sculpture," 246. The lower notches are about 1.26 m above floor level, while the upper division is about 1.15 m higher, measured to the midsection of the cutting.

[76] Hjort, "Sculpture," 246–48. This juxtaposition of two architectural elements was rather common in Byzantine architecture. Prominent examples are to be found at the narthex entrance to H. Iōannēs at the Studion, in the arcade of the baptistery at H. Sophia, and the main entrance to the Apokaukos church in Silivri; see Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, pls. 15-2 and 15-8 (Studion); pl. 40-20 (Kilise); Fig. 146 of the present study (Kilise); O. Feld, "Noch einmal Alexios Apokaukos und die byzantinische Kirche von Selymbria (Silivri)," *Byzantion* 37 (1967), pl. 1; S. Eyice, "Le baptistère de Sainte Sophie d'Istanbul," *Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana* (Rome, 1975), II, 269 and note 9 (H. Sophia).

[77] At the turn of the century this area was almost entirely closed off by Turkish walls which embedded the columns to the base of the capitals; see Shmit, *Kakhrie-dzhami*, II, pls. 82, 87, and W. Sender, *Byzantina* (Constantinople, 1927), VI, pl. 22.

Tomb C in the eastern bay corresponds in general form to the other three in the chapel: a niche, rectangular in plan, is topped by an arch. The upper portion was decorated in fresco, while the lower portion was slotted to include a closure slab and lid, forming a sarcophagus; the marble slabs are missing, although the slots survive to indicate their positions. The alternating brick and stone wall construction is now visible in the lower portions of the arcosolia. While Tomb C has the best surviving tomb decoration of the Kariye, the identity of its occupant(s) is not known. It is clear, however, that the arcosolium was decorated after the parecclesion was completed.[78] There is no evidence for any applied sculptural decoration.

Tomb D in the west bay is the only tomb in the parecclesion identified by an inscription: Michael Tornikes, friend and associate of Theodore Metochites, similarly ousted in the 1328 revolution, was buried there (Fig. 82).[79] The form of the tomb is similar to Tomb C, but is crowned by a marble arch. This was supported originally by columns which are now missing. Inserted after the completion of the parecclesion, the addition destroyed the frescoes immediately next to the tomb. The decoration of the arcosolium is also later, executed in mosaic and later repaired in fresco. The inner wall surface is hacked back slightly to enlarge the diameter of the arch to fit with that of the marble frontispiece. Like Tomb C, the lower portion is slotted for a now missing closure slab and lid, and the masonry is exposed.

(c) North wall. At the west end of the north wall, an internal window, offset in the wall segment, opens to a small storeroom (Fig. 85). The window is simple, arched and unglazed; the reveal is decorated only on the portion nearest the parecclesion. The opening was probably meant to provide some ventilation and light to the room behind. A second internal window was included above the cornice of the first bay, centered in the lunette, on axis with the dome and window opposite. Its form is identical to the other window, and it is similarly only frescoed on the reveal nearest the parecclesion. This opening leads to a functionless gallery which was open at its eastern end, providing a modicum of ventilation for the funeral chapel.

The small door in the western bay leads to passageway B (Fig. 87). Its Proconnesian marble frame survives in good condition. The arch of the lunette window above conforms to the barrel vault of the passageway.[80] Bits of plaster frame and metal cramps survive in situ, indicating that the opening was glazed (Fig. 96).

Tomb A, the largest of the arcosolia, is offset in the west bay in order to include the portal just discussed. The arcosolium is now topped with an arch, but, like Tomb D opposite, this is a later addition (Figs. 87–88).[81] The marble frame encroaches on the

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[78] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 272–76; III, pls. 534-36.

[79] Idem, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 271 ff, pls. 5-7; idem, *Kariye Djami*, I, 276 ff; III, pls. 537-39.

[80] The portal opening measures 69 cm by 190 cm.

[81] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 270 ff; Hjort, "Sculpture," 249, pls. 61-65.

fresco decoration and breaks through the cornice. In addition, the tomb appears to have been enlarged after the parecclesion was completed: the masonry has been hacked back to enlarge the diameter of the arch to fit with the applied marble facing. Cuttings in the lower section indicate the position of a closure slab and lid, to form a large sarcophagus, similar to Tombs C and D.

In Turkish times the back of the arcosolium was knocked through to form a second passageway to the naos, thereby destroying the mural decoration of the tomb and any clue to the identity of its occupant (Fig. 88). The back wall of the arcosolium was replaced in the 1950s, but it was evident from the surviving stubs of the wall that the back of the tomb was not parallel to the parecclesion, making the niche trapezoidal in plan. The reason for this irregularity is not entirely clear; perhaps it was the result of the ad hoc nature of the filler space in the area between the naos and the parecclesion, which will be discussed below.

The tomb is generally assumed to be that of Theodore Metochites. The location of his burial is not recorded, although it is known that he died in the monastery in 1332.[82] However, this is the largest tomb in the parecclesion and certainly the most impressive. An examination of the situation of Tomb A indicates that this is the optimum spot for burial in the chapel: as one enters, one is drawn from the dark antechamber to the central space below the tall dome of the first bay; this is where the light is concentrated, provided by both the tripartite lunette window and the twelve windows in the drum of the dome (Fig. 81). This is also the best position for viewing the chapel as a whole; one has a clear view of the dome decoration above as well as the lower pendentive dome and the conch of the apse. If the left-hand tomb belonged to Metochites, he chose the position wisely; the visitor who pauses to admire the panoramic sweep of the decoration finds himself standing directly in front of the *ktētor*'s tomb.

Below the floor of the wall coffin of Tomb A, a pit tomb was discovered, extending over 1.30 m below the floor level of the parecclesion. The tomb was trapezoidal in plan, the same length as the upper arcosolium, but slightly narrower, and employing the same rear wall. The walls of the pit tomb are of masonry construction.[83] Found in a disturbed condition, the purpose of the tomb is not immediately evident; however, it may have been meant to enlarge the founder's tomb in order to include other members of his family. A fragment of mosaic of extremely fine quality, measuring ca. 3 cm by 4 cm probably representing flesh, was found in the pit tomb, evidently coming from the decoration of the arcosolium of Tomb A.[84]

None of the decoration survives in Tomb B to the east, although the form is the same as the others, and cuttings for the closure slab and lid survive. Before it was restored in the 1950s, it was covered with modern plaster, with no trace of the original decoration. The arcosolium is offset to the west in the bay in order to include the portal to the diaconicon, which is set back in a niche. Although the rosso antico frame is in good condition, this may not be its original position; prior to the restoration of the

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[82] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 14–15, 271; Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 37.

[83] On the west side, the tomb measures 72 cm wide; on the east, 59 cm; see Dumbarton Oaks photographs H59.272–.279 for excavations. Information from Underwood, excavation notes (1959).

[84] Information from Hawkins; also Oates, excavation notes.

1950s, the door frame was at the naos end of the second passage which had been knocked through from the parecclesion.[85] But it appears to fit almost exactly in its present location. The semicircular window over the door is unglazed. Much damage has occurred to the east of the door, where a large crack runs through the entire building, ca. 8 cm wide. Much of the fresco was lost in this area; the crack was patched in the 1950s and the plaster covering replaced (Fig. 89).

(d) East wall, apse (Fig. 81). The north and south walls step in slightly at the east end to a semicircular apse that is almost as wide as the chapel itself. The flooring is modern replacement, but it seems that the bema floor was originally slightly raised, with reused marble pieces forming a step.[86] The step and bits of pinkish plaster floor setting were uncovered when the apse was excavated (Fig. 90).

At the east end is a thin, triple-arched, mullioned window, with highly stilted arches of equal height. The sill of the window projects lower than the dado zone. In the fourteenth century the three lights of the window were probably filled with colored glass: the plaster frames and bits of glass were uncovered in the excavations of 1958, and have been discussed elsewhere.[87] The windows had been almost completely blocked in Turkish times, but were opened and restored in the 1950s.[88]

A narrow tomb was excavated in the floor of the bema, located on the central axis of the chapel, not far below floor level, probably resting on the vaults of the substructures (Fig. 90). The walls of the tomb were constructed of masonry, covered by two reused marble slabs. Considering the rough nature of the marble covering, it was likely a later addition to the chapel. The tomb had been plundered in modern times.[89]

(e) Vaulting (Figs. 81, 83). The main dome, raised on pendentives, is dodecagonal and is ribbed, similar to the dome of the diaconicon. The internal height of the dome is 11.18 m, and it measures ca. 4.70 m in diameter at the base of the drum. The ribs rise through the drum and converge on a central medallion; each segment of the drum is pierced by a window. The fresco decoration of the dome is in a very good state of preservation, with only small losses around the reveals of the windows. This is accentuated by the modern displacement of the glazing, which has been moved further outward from each opening.[90]

The eastern bay is covered by a domical vault similar to the vaulting of the final two bays of the exonarthex (Fig. 81). Here it was undoubtedly meant to function iconographically as a dome, the "dome of heaven," decorated with the apocalyptic Second Coming.[91] The vaults and conch of the apse are flanked and separated by arches of

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[85] Information from Hawkins.

[86] Hjort, "Sculpture," pl. 88.

[87] Megaw, "Notes," 364 ff.

[88] Underwood, "Second Preliminary Report," *DOP* 11 (1957), pls. 44, 47.

[89] No documentation survived from this excavation; but see Dumbarton Oaks photographs H58.127–.132 and Hjort, "Sculpture," 264 ff. According to Hawkins, among the churned rubbish in the tomb was a scrap of quite old newsprint in the modern type introduced by Atatürk in 1925. No trace was found of fragments of marble from the hole broken in the larger slab.

[90] Underwood, "First Preliminary Report," *DOP* 9–10 (1956), 263, pls. 85-86.

[91] Idem, *Kariye Djami,* I, 201; idem, "Third Preliminary Report," *DOP* 12 (1958), 241 note 4.

varying widths; those supporting the main dome had cracked and required rebuilding in the 1950s.[92]

(f) Substructures (Figs. 92–93) The parecclesion sits on a high base, necessary to adjust the building to the sloping site. Built of large, irregular blocks of stone, the interior of the substructure is filled by two long, barrel-vaulted cisterns which run the length of the parecclesion. These are coated with pinkish plaster on the interior. Although Underwood suggested that these were ossuaries for the monastery, several facts point to their use as cisterns.[93] None of the other underground tombs at the Kariye or the above-ground tombs was plastered on the interior; cisterns were extremely common as substructures in Istanbul; and there are ceramic conduits leading into the cisterns which probably originally drained from the roof—these are now blocked, and the cistern is dry. Finally, to my knowledge, no evidence of bones or burial remains was discovered.

Before the 1950s the east ends of the cisterns had been knocked through, and they were easily accessible. At that time they were photographed and measured. The holes were patched in the restoration work, and it is presently impossible to enter the cavities. There was likely some sort of fountain-house at the east end; otherwise water could have been fetched only through the parecclesion floor. Four trapdoors originally opened to the cisterns, but the two to the east were blocked when the modern floor was laid. Of the other two, only the southwest could be opened. The shaft leading to the cistern is irregular, but the mortar appears the same throughout. It is pinkish, corresponding to the Palaeologan mortar elsewhere in the building. The opening is approximately 44 cm wide at the top and expands downward. The modern floor level is approximately a meter above the peak of the cistern vault, while the bottom of the cistern is 3.72 m below the chapel floor (Fig. 93). Two ceramic conduits open into the shaft, from the north and the south. The south conduit apparently drained from the roof, while the north conduit connected the two cisterns in order to equalize the water level. Other such conduits led into the eastern shafts.[94]

5. *Rooms between the naos and the parecclesion* (Figs. 94–103)

Passageway B connects the naos and the parecclesion. It is flanked by two chambers of uncertain purpose, referred to as the oratory and the storeroom. An inaccessible gallery is positioned above these spaces. The inclusion of these spaces and their numerous irregularities are explained by their basic function as filler, meant to bridge the gap between the preexisting naos and the parecclesion when it was added in the fourteenth century. When not exposed to the public eye, the surfaces were left unfinished, and the functionless remnants of the twelfth-century construction left standing. Consequently, a good deal of the building's history can be determined from this section. Investigation indicated an eleventh-century opening in the south wall of the naos, extended in the twelfth century, probably to an annexed chapel of some sort. The rooms in this area received their present form in the fourteenth century when this opening was almost entirely closed.

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[92] Idem, "Third Preliminary Report," 269.

[93] Idem, *Kariye Djami,* I, 189; see also Forchheimer and Strzygowski, *Die byzantinischen Wasserbehälter* 107, fig. 35; also Rüdell, *Kahrie-Dschamisi,* fig. 1.

[94] Rüdell, *Kahrie-Dschamisi,* fig. 1; a Byzantine pipe found in the south wall of bay seven of the exonarthex undoubtedly led to the cisterns; see Dumbarton Oaks photographs H57.459–.560.

(a) Passageway B (Figs. 94–97). The narrow, barrel-vaulted passage measures 3.78 m in length internally and 4.49 m long including the sills. The width varies from 1.14 m on the north side to 1.04 m on the south side. The barrel vault is ca. 2.72 m high. The passageway is frescoed throughout, with imitation marble revetment on the wall surface and ornamental motifs in the vault, separated by an illusionistically painted cornice at the springing point.

The passage is set at an odd angle to the naos and parecclesion, and the east wall has a slight but noticeable bend in it (Fig. 9). The irregularities were presumably to allow for the larger size of the arcosolium of Tomb A in the parecclesion. The stone slabs of the floor are set parallel to the walls of the naos and parecclesion and do not follow the angle of the passage. Most of the flooring appears to be reused pieces of Proconnesian marble, except for a large slab of rosso antico set before the entrance to the oratory (Figs. 94–95). Loss of fresco surface in the lower, west wall exposed two significant reprises in construction (Fig. 97). The notched reveal of the eleventh-century opening in the naos wall is joined by a thickness of twelfth-century masonry. The latter was further expanded by the Palaeologan construction of the passageway wall. Thus three phases of construction were evident in close proximity.[95]

Marble doorframes survive at either end of the passage; in both instances the frames face outward and the doors open inward, while frames of the oratory and storeroom portals face into the passage. The sill of the storeroom door is positioned 41 cm above the floor level of the passage. The lunette above the door to the parecclesion is now open, but bits of the plaster frame and metal cramps in situ indicate this area was originally glazed, to allow light into the passage when doors were closed (Fig. 96). The form of the glazing is suggested in the opposite lunette above the naos door: there the fresco imitates the form of a lunette window, with a central oculus and partial oculi on the sides (Fig. 94).[96]

(b) Oratory (Figs. 98–99). The oratory to the east of passageway B is roughly rectangular in plan, 1.98 m wide and varying in length from 1.59 m on the south side to 1.67 m on the north side. The area is covered by an unribbed groin vault, squarish in plan, which springs directly from the walls, except on the south side where it springs from a narrow barrel vault (Fig. 98). The walls rise ca. 1.96–1.99 m to the peaks of the arches; the apex of the vault is ca. 2.26 m above the floor.

The wall surface of this area is entirely Palaeologan construction. The north and south walls of the oratory had been destroyed in Turkish times and were reconstructed in the 1950s. Enough of the wall stubs survived to indicate the original form of the chamber and insure a correct reconstruction. Fragments of a small arch were discovered in the north wall, and based on this a window into the naos was reconstructed.

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[95] Oates, "Report," 226–28; Dumbarton Oaks photograph H58.86.

[96] My thanks to Hawkins for bringing this to my attention.

The north half of the east wall may be simply a facing covering a stub of twelfth-century wall. This and the other walls are neatly finished. Two niches are included at the extreme south of the east and west walls; these suggest that the chamber was intended as a functional unit. However, no trace of decoration or of plaster was discovered in this chamber, and, as little light ever entered the room, its walls may have been left bare. While exhibiting a certain degree of finish, the room is slightly irregular, and often its forms do not relate. The flanking niches are different sizes and different heights.[97] The arch of the vault on the south side springs from directly above the midpoint of these arched niches.

The floor of the chamber was excavated in the 1950s, revealing both eleventh- and twelfth-century foundations corresponding to the thickness of the naos wall in each construction period, parallel to those exposed in passageway B (Figs. 11, 99).

Because of its unique position, relating to the presumed tomb of Theodore Metochites directly behind its south wall, and opening to the naos through a small window in the north wall, Underwood suggested that this chamber was "a small chapel or oratory in which icons with perpetually burning candles and votive lamps might be kept and commemorative rites have been performed."[98] It may have been simply a monk's cell for private meditation, or perhaps a storeroom.

(c) Storeroom (Figs. 100–101). On the opposite side of the passageway is a second small chamber, similar in dimension to the oratory, but much cruder in construction. It measures approximately 1.84 m by 2.67 m in plan. The room is entirely closed except for an internal window which opens into the parecclesion. The floor level is raised ca. 41 cm at the entrance above the passageway floor and maintains this height throughout. The area is covered by a groin vault which is square in plan and similar to the vault of the oratory, springing directly from the walls of the room, except on the west side which is covered by a broad arch. The walls rise to ca. 3.70 m to the springing of the vault and ca. 4.10 m to its apex.

Three separate periods of construction may be discerned in the walls. An irregular break in the middle of the north wall divides it into two sections, with twelfth-century, Comnenian masonry on the east side and Palaeologan on the west. The former corresponds in technique with the west wall of the storeroom, also twelfth-century, although the layers of brick and stone are not aligned. The Palaeologan masonry is of alternating bands of brick and stone, but the lower 20–25 cm of the wall is of broken and irregular twelfth-century masonry. Holes in the wall in this area indicate that the Palaeologan masonry is only a facing, repairing where the Comnenian masonry had been hacked back. The foundations suggest that the Comnenian wall projected southward at this point to form a corner pier for the presumed twelfth-century annexed chapel.[99] A system of cavities in the wall indicates the position of tie beams and stabilizing timbers.[100]

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[97] The east niche measures 65 cm wide, 82 cm high, and 45 cm deep; the west niche measures 65 cm wide, 102 cm high, and 32 cm deep.

[98] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 271.

[99] Oates, "Report," 228.

The major portion of the west wall is also from the twelfth century but was evidently constructed independently of and preceding the north wall, and it extends further to the north. A fragment of eleventh-century wall survives at the south extremity of the west wall. The surface is hacked back, and a fragment of cornice survives in situ, facing north, as the wall apparently did in the eleventh century (Fig. 101).[101] Both the wall and the cornice are broken abruptly at the plane of the present surface. There is only rubble fill above the cornice line. This small section continues further south and west, buried in fourteenth-century masonry. In the twelfth-century wall section, the mortar is grayish white, but includes crushed brick; the eleventh-century mortar is whitish. The twelfth-century wall appears to have originally continued higher than the fourteenth-century vaulting; it is partially broken at the springing point. A putlog hole survives in the lower section of the wall, extending to a depth of 67 cm, the approximate thickness of the twelfth-century wall.

Both the south and east walls are entirely Palaeologan construction. The lowest courses of the south wall are roughly mortared rubble with regular bands of brick and stone above. An unglazed, arched window in the south wall opens into the parecclesion to provide light and ventilation to this chamber.[102] The reveal of the window is plastered, and the area closest to the parecclesion is painted, but there is no indication that the decoration or plastering ever continued into the storeroom. Triangular notches remain at the springing of the arch, probably where a crossbeam was positioned.

The east wall includes an arch in which the doorframe was set, with crude rubble fill above the lintel. The wall is typical fourteenth-century construction, laid against and not bonded to the twelfth-century, north wall of the room.

Excavation in the floor of the storeroom revealed a large chunk of the lowest portion of twelfth-century wall surviving in the northwest corner, accounting for the high floor level (Fig. 11). This appears to be bonded with the north wall, which probably followed the line of this lower block but was hacked back and refaced in the fourteenth century. The remainder of the elevated floor is fourteenth-century fill. Considering the rough and unfinished nature of construction, it is likely that this chamber had no set function in the fourteenth century. Its inclusion appears to be an afterthought, to act as filler between the naos and parecclesion.

(d) Gallery passage (Figs. 102–103). The gallery-level passage above passageway B and the oratory runs eastward and opens to the exterior by the diaconicon dome. It can presently be reached only through the small window above Tomb A in the parecclesion.

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[100] Several holes survive in the 12th-century wall section. One extends to a depth of at least 115 cm, projecting into the 11th-century wall behind; this was probably for a stabilizing timber when the 12th-century wall was attached. A second hole perpendicular to and slightly higher than the first runs east-to-west inside the wall, about 20 cm deep, extending ca. 20 cm to the west and 65 cm to the east. This contained the tie beam. Both cavities are rectangular, ca. 10 cm wide.

[101] This is identical to the 12th-century cornice in the naos; see Oates, "Report," 226–27; Hjort, "Sculpture," 237.

[102] The window opening measures 58 cm by 101 cm. An intriguing graffito is scratched into the mortar below the window. Perhaps a signature, it has thus far eluded decipherment; see Dumbarton Oaks photograph H57.655.

The passage does not appear to have ever been accessible but served to regularize the roof level between the naos and the parecclesion. The passage may also have been intended to provide ventilation for the parecclesion which was otherwise closed. The small window into the parecclesion was unglazed, and, according to the excavators, there is no evidence that the east end of the passage was closed in Byzantine times.[103]

The upper passage measures in its greatest dimensions approximately 7.92 m by 2.48 m, and is 2.92 m tall. The major part of the space is a long, narrow hall of uneven width and irregular vaulting, 1.32 m across at its widest point, narrowing to 80 cm at the east end (Fig. 103). At the west end, the area is increased to the north by a low, arched area perpendicular to the passage, 1.57 m high, 1.20 m deep, and 3.54 m wide. The floor is unfinished, dirt fill. The wall surfaces are predominantly rough stonework with brick vaulting, except around the window to the parecclesion where the blocks are neatly squared. It is obvious that the passage was never intended for view.

While the majority of the construction is fourteenth-century, the low arch is constructed of recessed brick, aligning with the twelfth-century construction on the ground floor. However, only the arch is twelfth-century; above the voussoirs both the construction technique and the mortar change, corresponding with the fourteenth-century work. The arch is backed by rough, fourteenth-century fill. In the twelfth century the arch continued another meter to open into the naos. Much of the intrados of the arch and the surface facing into the passage are covered with roughly troweled plaster, apparently the first rendering for mosaic (Fig. 103).

The construction of the passage evidently followed chronologically that of the parecclesion and the diaconicon. Where the eastern section of the passage met the diaconicon, the walls were not bonded; the diaconicon dome was finished on the exterior surface, and was thus probably completed before the passageway was begun.[104]

The two long, north and south walls are not parallel, but are noticeably closer together at the east end. This apparently created difficulties in vaulting the space. Corbeled courses of brick have been introduced along the north side to even the span and equalize the height of the two walls. Above this is the barrel vault, the bricks of which have been laid at an angle, probably without formwork.

6. *Esonarthex* (Figs. 27, 104–114)

The inner narthex is the most irregular of the fourteenth-century additions. It was attached to the west face of the Comnenian naos, the wall of which was thickened when this unit was added. An oblong space, the esonarthex measures 17.95 m wide by approximately 3.50 m deep.[105] The space is divided into four bays separated by pilaster strips. The bays differ in size and are asymmetrically arranged; a small bay is on the central axis of the entrance, with two bays to the north and a single, larger bay to the south. The central two bays are similar, but not identical in size and are covered by the sail vaults which vary slightly in articulation. The north and south bays are covered by octagonal and dodecagonal domes respectively, of noticeably different sizes.

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[103] Information from Hawkins. The opening into the parecclesion measures 70 cm wide, 166 cm high, and 96–98 cm deep. Its wooden tie beam still survives.

[104] Much of the archeological evidence was destroyed when this area was rebuilt in the 1950s. See Dumbarton Oaks photograph H57.569. On the north wall, graffiti have been incised into wet plaster, including a sketch of a monk; see Dumbarton Oaks photograph Ousterhout 1980-9-1a.

[105] At its greatest, 4.12 m deep (south bay); at its narrowest, 3.24 m deep (entrance to south bay).

On the central axis of the building, a door opens to the west into the exonarthex and another to the east into the naos. A second door in the east wall, slightly to the north, also connects with the naos; this does not have a symmetrical counterpart to the south, were a monumental mosaic of the Deesis occupies the position. A portal in the north bay opens to passageway A, and a door in the south wall of the south bay leads to the last bay of the exonarthex; an external door in the south facade is on the same axis. The interior is lit by a small, tripartite window in the north wall and smaller windows in the drums of the domes. Some indirect lighting is provided by an interior window in the upper south wall, opposite a window in the south facade, and by the portals.

The inner narthex was built to a large extent on firm foundations, probably resting on the substructures of the Comnenian narthex. Although no examination of the foundations was possible, no settling or outward lean to the walls is evident in the majority of the chamber. In the north half of the first bay, however, serious structural damage has occurred. This portion of the esonarthex is likely to have extended beyond the older foundations, and, with the settling of the fourteenth-century substructures, serious fractures appeared in the floor, walls, and vaulting.

Except for the structural damage and the insertion of a tomb in the north bay, the surface coverings in the inner narthex are in a very good state of preservation and give the best indication of the former magnificence of the building. The flooring, the marble revetment, and the mosaics survive almost in their entirety. The floor is rather simply patterned, consisting primarily of matched panels of Proconnesian marble with a verde antico border set in slightly from the wall (Figs. 9, 104). The border expands dramatically in the south bay, emphasizing the large size of that unit, and the central bay on the main axis of the entrance includes a large, verde antico rectangle framed by a multicolored herringbone design.

At the base of the walls, overlapped by the floor panels, is a grooved skirting of the Proconnesian marble, similar to that of the naos, rising 34–36 cm above the floor (Fig. 155, no. 4, right). This provides a base for the revetment of the walls, which are in turn topped by a painted, chamfered cornice, positioned ca. 4.40–4.50 m above the floor. The revetment is arranged in groups of repeating mirrored panels of Proconnesian marble with verde antico framing (Figs. 105, 114). The walls are divided into two zones; the dado zone consists of upright panels of veined Proconnesian with an occasional verde antico panel, corresponding to the divisions of the upper zones. This is topped by a band of verde antico, and above this are two sets of matched Proconnesian panels, outlined with bullnoses and set against verde antico dividers. Mosaic icons flank the central naos portal, and in this area the patterns become more intricate, with some rosso antico included. The pattern is also altered around the Deesis mosaic in the south bay.

Like the naos revetment, most of the marbles are from columns which have been sliced and unfolded to form repeating patterns. There is little coordination between the revetment patterns and the bay divisions of the unit. On the west wall, for example, a pilaster projects between the first and second bays. However, the marble repeat patterns pass right over it, without framing devices, ignoring the structural division (Fig. 114).[106] Nor is there a coordination between facing walls; the east and west walls follow separate systems of vertical divisions. Around the Deesis mosaic, the patterning is equally odd: the marble bands and cornice turn the corners and intersect the mosaic without any sort of framing device (Fig. 113).

The domical vaults over the central two bays are of an odd type, also used in four of the exonarthex bays; to my knowledge, such vaults are found only at the Kariye (Fig. 108). A domical vault normally requires a square base, and was thus an unusual choice for covering the rectangular bays of the narthexes. Extra lateral arches were required in each rectangular bay to square off the central area. These spring somewhat incongruously from the lower portions of the longitudinal arches which separate the bays. As the size of the bays is irregular, the width of the lateral arches also varies. The choice of the domical form may have been intended to provide a continuous surface for the narrative scenes of the mosaic decoration.

(a) Bay one. The north bay is approximately square in plan and is topped by a dome on pendentives. The dome is positioned above a cornice which is approximately 7.0 m above the floor level (Fig. 106). The dome is elevated on a drum and is articulated by sixteen scallops on the interior. It measures 3.40 m in diameter, with a height of 10.10 m. The drum is pierced by five windows in alternating scallops on the western side, while the eastern side abuts the upper north annex, precluding the placement of windows. Most of the mosaic decoration survives.

A tomb was built against the north wall a few decades after the initial Palaeologan construction (Fig. 104).[107] It stands almost to cornice height, with a projecting arch forming an arcosolium similar to the tombs of the parecclesion. The soffits of the arch were decorated with mosaic, and the tomb originally had a sculpted frontal, similar to tombs A and D, of which only the capitals remain. In the lower area, only the slots for the tomb lid are left to indicate the position of the coffin. Prior to the 1950s the arch was entirely filled, coated with plaster, and painted to imitate marble revetment.

Serious structural damage has occurred in the north bay, beginning with fracture at the middle of the unit. The north half of the flooring has fragmented, and much has been replaced. The break continues on the east wall along the same line; the arched entrance to the north annex and the small window above were both seriously damaged; the fracture extends into the dome, causing the loss of much of the wall covering along the north side. The window had been filled in an attempt to strengthen the area. Prior to the 1950s the wall had been plastered and painted to imitate marble revetment. This was removed and the window unblocked; the arches were strengthened, and a new revetment was added.

The north wall has also sustained serious structural damage, but this was repaired

[106] For the west wall, see Pulgher, *Anciennes églises*, pl. 19, fig. 2; for the east wall, Rüdell, *Kahrie-Dschamisi*, pl. 7.

[107] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 276 ff; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 295 ff. For the sculptural decoration, see Hjort, "Sculpture," 255 ff.

at the end of the nineteenth century. The arch and upper section of the window apparently collapsed and were replaced along with a large section of the upper wall. The lopsided form of the window and its rather awkward repair are evident. Damage was of a serious enough nature in this area to necessitate the addition of a buttress on the exterior. This was finally removed in the late nineteenth century, but appears in several early illustrations (Figs. 35, 38).

The tripartite, mullioned window in the lunette is positioned decidedly off-center in relationship to the interior, but is centrally placed in relation to the exterior, set within an arch (Figs. 104, 147). This feature must have been planned from the exterior, as all of the external articulation is slightly out of line with the interior structural system. The same is evident with the door to the north annex, which is centered with respect to passageway A, but without consideration to the placement of the inner narthex dome.

The arch between bays one and two is supported by a pilaster to the west, but springs directly from the wall on the east side. Set against the solid masonry of the wall behind, the extra thickness was not necessary at this point.

(b) Bay two. The floor pattern and wall revetments continue uninterrupted from the first to the third bay, broken only on the east wall by the north naos portal and the wall icon on the neighboring pier. The east wall surface continues flat through the two bays, while on the west wall the second bay is articulated by thin pilasters.

The north naos portal is framed by jambs and a lintel of rosso antico. Its position determined in the twelfth century, the portal is somewhat awkwardly placed in relation to the vaulting above; the arch that separates bays two and three is not quite aligned with the pier between the two doors, and the arch is angled slightly in order not to overlap the portal.

The vaulting is the "Kariye type" of domical vault (Fig. 104). The arches on either side of the bay are of slightly different widths, the southern wider than the northern. The mosaics of the vaults have survived in good condition.

(c) Bay three. The third bay of the inner narthex lies on the central east-west axis of the church. It is slightly smaller and slightly narrower than the second bay, and the pilasters that form the west wall flanking the door make the bay slightly shallower as well. The portal to the naos is flanked by wall icons of SS. Peter and Paul. Both portals are framed by elaborately carved jambs and lintels, the east in verde antico and the west in Proconnesian (Fig. 109). On the west wall, the revetment continues uninterrupted over the door, but breaks with the usual pattern on the east wall. On the piers flanking the naos entrance, the second horizontal strip of rosso antico appears at the base of the mosaic icons; the arched tops to these are in alternating pieces of Proconnesian and rosso antico, topped by pavonazzetto. Extra rosso antico panels appear above the portal, and the central motif is formed by eight triangular pieces of Proconnesian framed by a bead-and-reel molding.

The original Proconnesian slab which topped the reveal of the entrance to the naos was broken and replaced in the winter of 1949–50. When the triangular panels of the revetment were reset above the lintel, the area behind was exposed: below the relieving arch was a large quantity of rubble fill above rotted timbers, resting on the marble door surround. The verde antico doorframe had been repaired in Byzantine times. On the north jamb, an oddly shaped cavity was neatly filled with plaster mixed with verde antico marble fragments.[108]

To the south of the portal, the pilaster projects outward, necessary for the support of the south dome, creating a slight asymmetry to the entrance. The vaulting above is the "Kariye type" of domical vault, nearly identical with the second bay (Fig. 108). The arches flanking are of slightly different widths, and the unit is slightly off axis from the portal below. The mosaic covering of the vault is well preserved, including the dedicatory mosaic of Theodore Metochites presenting the church to Christ, over the portal (Frontispiece).

The only elaborate area of narthex flooring is in this bay, to give emphasis to the entrance. Two extra slips of verde antico set off a central rectangle; within this, two large panels of verde antico are surrounded by a multicolored herringbone pattern in Proconnesian, rosso antico, and yellow marble (see Fig. 9).

(d) Bay four. The south domed bay is both wider and deeper than the other bays of the esonarthex (Figs. 105, 113). It is set off by the projecting pilasters at its northern limit, at which point the depth of the narthex changes from its narrowest, 3.24 m, to the widest, 4.12 m; the larger size is emphasized in the floor design. A small, narrower segment extends to the south where a door to the exonarthex is located. Almost all aspects of the decoration of this unit set it apart from the rest of the inner narthex. In addition, the iconography of the vault mosaics changes at this point; while the first three bays are filled with the Life of the Virgin, the final bay switches abruptly to the Miracles of Christ, concluding a cycle begun in the exonarthex.[109]

The dome above the south bay rises on a tall drum above the dome cornice which is positioned ca. 6.7 m above the floor (Fig. 107). Noticeably larger than its northern counterpart, the south dome measures 3.74 m in diameter at the cornice, and the interior is gored with twenty-four scallops.[110] The peak of the dome is ca. 10.54 m above the floor. The drum is pierced with nine windows which appear in alternating scallops on the western side. The plan of the bay is not quite square, and some adjustment was necessary in the pendentives to fit the vaulting to the plan.

The floor in this bay is set off by a large rectangle in verde antico which expands beyond the dimensions established in the other bays. The border encloses two matched slabs of Proconnesian marble. The design is expanded to the north and south by small panels of Proconnesian and rosso antico, outlined in verde antico. Some replacement has occurred in the southwest corner; otherwise the floor is in a well-preserved state.

The south wall contains a portal to the last bay of the exonarthex. The opening is framed in marble with a reused lintel (Fig. 105).[111] Directly above is a semicircular vent

[108] For illustration, see Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, II, pl. 30. The patch had disappeared but was rediscovered during the excavations in the rubble removed from a blocked window elsewhere in the building; information from Hawkins.

[109] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 28.

[110] Underwood, ibid., I, 20, attributes the larger size of the south dome to the need for light in this area. This is an oversimplification; while the number of windows is increased in the dome, the size of each has been decreased because of the thinner dimensions of the scallops.

[111] Hjort, "Sculpture," 237, pl. 40.

window under the relieving arch; the reveal is frescoed to imitate marble, much like the reveals of the prothesis portal. Above the cornice is another small, arched window, which was originally glazed; fragments of the plaster frame still survive in the reveal. The window faces a larger window in the south facade, providing additional lighting for this end of the esonarthex. There is some variation in the marbles of the south wall, including several pieces of rosso antico in the design around the portal.

The west wall continues the patterning of the other three bays, with a similar disregard for structural division. However, the east wall breaks entirely with the decorative patterns established elsewhere in the narthex. Almost the entire wall surface is occupied by a monumental mosaic of the Deesis, in both position and scale unlike anything else in the decorative program of the building (Figs. 110, 113).[112] The bottom of the mosaic is only about 1.16 m above the floor, and the mosaic extends to the peak of the lunette. The revetments and cornice turn in to intersect the mosaic, stopping abruptly without framing elements. Below the mosaic, the banding in the revetment is in rosso antico rather than verde antico.

Much of the mosaic surface has disappeared, although the plaster setting bed retains a large part of the design. In areas where both were lost, it was possible to examine the masonry behind. In addition, the marble dado was partially missing at the north side, and other slabs could be removed without damage in order to examine the wall surface. This proved to be the original naos wall, with eleventh- and twelfth-century construction visible.[113] While the wall had been increased in thickness elsewhere in the narthex, in this area it had not. It was also evident that changes had occurred in this area between the eleventh and twelfth centuries: the insertion of the corner pier in the naos seems to have blocked a south door from the narthex (Fig. 111). The northern counterpart was apparently shifted to its present position, but the south wall was blocked; thus the asymmetrical entrance was apparently carried over from the twelfth-century church. The wall projections to either side of the mosaic proved to be fourteenth-century, not bonded to the wall surface (Fig. 112).[114]

7. *Exonarthex* (Figs. 28, 115–123)

The outer narthex of the Kariye Camii was originally constructed in the fourteenth century as an exterior portico, with an open arcade along the west facade and a belfry over the southwest corner. Consisting of seven bays of varying sizes, six bays form the west facade of the building, while the seventh turns the corner on the south side to meet the parecclesion. There is a close relationship between the two: the exonarthex and parecclesion are linked in such a way that they form an L-shaped unit which envelops the core of the building on two sides.

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[112] Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 45–48; II, pls. 36–41; idem, "Deisis Mosaic," 254–60; idem, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 284 ff. The images of Christ and the Virgin are over 4 m tall.

[113] Oates, "Report," 227.

[114] Ibid. An odd cutting appears in the lower north corner of the Deesis panel and another in the adjoining pilaster, just above the lower molding; a round hole appears in the floor below; these may have supported a candle holder or votive lamp.

Spanning the entire width of the edifice, the exonarthex mesures 32.81 m wide and between 3.75 and 4.05 m deep.[115] The extra projection of bays six and seven measures 4.68 m wide and 9.96 m long. Irregular in form, the bays are separated by pilasters supporting arches and are of four different sizes, covered by two different types of vaulting. Much adjustment was necessary among the bay units in order to align bays three and six with the main axes of the building: the position of the third bay is determined by the axis of symmetry of the naos and entrance, while the size and position of the sixth bay is determined by the parecclesion. The other bays have been fitted around or between these, and consequently the pilasters and bay divisions do not correspond with those of the esonarthex.

Bays one, two, four, and five are rectangular and are topped by "Kariye type" domical vaults, with the central square base of the vault formed by extra lateral arches. The third bay, on the axis of the entrance, is slightly larger, nearly square in plan, and is topped by a domical vault without extra lateral supports. The sixth and seventh bays are larger still, increased in width to match that of the parecclesion, and the full area of each bay is covered by a domical vault. The last two bays relate closely to the parecclesion.

Because of the openings along the west facade, the exonarthex was well lit, acting as a transitional space between the exterior and the interior, and contrasting with the darker exonarthex. Now filled, the arches were originally open, and the space must have been conceived as a formalized porch. The lower portion of each arched opening was closed by a parapet slab, except for the entrance in bay three. Additional portals at each end, in bays one and seven, opened to the north and south. Opposite the southern entrance is a second portal to the inner narthex; an additional small door in the south wall of the sixth bay leads to a spiral staircase set in the additional thickness of the south wall; this now leads to the minaret but originally provided access to the upper level of the belfry above bay six.

The sixth bay is set off from the others by columns supporting pointed arches on the north and east sides, breaking up the special unity of the exonarthex. These structural reinforcements were added shortly after the initial construction to compensate for the outward distortion of the walls caused by the weight of the belfry (Fig. 116).[116]

Most of the original surface covering has been lost in this area. The floor has been entirely replaced, but much of the original skirting survives and matches that of the esonarthex. The marble revetment has almost entirely disappeared. The few fragments that survive and the cramps still in situ suggest that the organization was similar to that of the esonarthex, but more closely related to the structural divisions: all of the pilaster strips were decorated with framed mosaic icons, emphasizing the supports.

Because of the loss of surface coverings, the Palaeologan masonry can be observed, and some archeological investigation was possible. A trench was laid in the floor in 1959, uncovering two sections of a foundation wall of uncertain date and purpose.[117] A tomb below the floor of bay five was also explored. More significant were the investigations of the west arcade, carried out by the Byzantine Institute of America in the late 1950s.

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[115] Measurements were taken from the skirting, which projects 7-10 cm from the wall surface, including the ca. 2 cm thickness of the skirting itself; this rises 34–36 cm above the floor.

[116] These modifications occurred after the completion of the decoration; see Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* II, pl. 184.

(a) West facade arcade. Several alterations have occurred in the exonarthex since its initial construction which have significantly modified its appearance. Most notably, the arched openings of the west facade have been filled in, shifting the character of the unit from that of an exterior to an interior space. Archeological examination has indicated that the closing of the arcades did not happen all at once, but was a gradual process; over a period of time, the arches were blocked, and three were transformed into arcosolia for tombs. This process began within a decade of the initial construction, with the addition of Tomb E in the fifth bay, belonging to Irene Raoulaina Palaeologina.[118] At later dates, Tombs F and G were added in the fourth and second bays. With the Turkish conversion of the building, the tombs were filled in, and bays one and six were walled shut.[119] The small, pointed windows inserted in each bay destroyed the upper section of the frescoes that decorated the tomb arcosolia (Fig. 4). In addition, at an undetermined time, the central opening of bay three was fitted with a doorframe.

The fragmentary remains in the six arcades of the west facade allow a reconstruction of their original appearance. All of the arched openings are similar in size (Fig. 28).[120] While the width of the piers varies with the irregular size of each bay, the width of the openings remains constant. Except for the third bay, the lower portion of each opening was closed by a balustrade, topped by a molded coping. The cuttings for these and a fragment of coping were discovered when the fill was removed from bays one and six, which had not been closed off by arcosolia (Fig. 122).[121] There was no indication of original closure above this point. Underwood suggested glazing or a grille, but other evidence suggests that this must have been an open portico: the internal windows were glazed; the parecclesion could have been totally closed off from the exonarthex; and the awkward frame of the main entrance to the building is certainly not original (Fig. 125).[122]

The marble revetment and other surface coverings turned into the window openings, stopping short of the exterior at the line of the parapet slabs. The interior skirting continued across the front of each opening, with the upper portion cut away as it crossed in front of each sill; the upper portions that turned in along the reveals to

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[117] Information from Hawkins; see Dumbarton Oaks photograph H59.273. This may have been the foundation for the porch of an earlier building.

[118] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 278–82, figs. 11–13; idem, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), 216–22, figs. 1–4; idem, *Kariye Djami,* I, 280–88; III, pls. 540–45.

[119] Idem, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 278–82; idem, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), 223–28, figs. 5–8; idem, *Kariye Djami,* I, 288–95; III, pls. 546–49.

[120] The height of the arches varies between 4.37 m and 4.44 m above the sills, which are raised 22 cm above the exonarthex floor. The width ranges from 1.79 m to 1.84 m; see Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), 215–16 for additional measurements.

[121] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), 215–16 and pl. 11; Dumbarton Oaks photographs H57.471, H57.474, H57.477. The balustrades were positioned approximately 1.20 m above the sill.

[122] Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, 21; additional information from Hawkins.

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provide a base for the revetment. Very little of the revetment survives, except for a few fragments in the second bay. These and the position of the surviving clamps indicate that the inner three-quarters of the reveals were revetted.[123] In the lower sections, the skirting and revetment met the closure slab. At the top, the cornice also turned into the reveal, stopping at approximately the same place. A centrally placed tie-beam ran across the top of the cornices. The soffits of the arches were decorated with mosaic; however, this covered only the inner half of the arch, stopping at the tie-beam. Beyond this, a thin band of setting plaster extended to the limit of the marbles (Fig. 123). While the ends of the decorative surfaces are left somewhat unresolved, there is little relationship between the interior and exterior articulation of the building: the arches of the facade rise above the peaks of the vaulting, and the external cornice is about a meter higher than the exonarthex cornice, stopping abruptly at each arched opening.

The exterior ground level was evidently always higher than the floor level of the outer narthex. Built on a sloping site, we can imagine that the floor of the narthex of the Comnenian building corresponded to the ground level to the west. As the Palaeologan exonarthex projects further to the west, it may have been necessary to cut at least partially into the sloping terrain. The elevated level of the sills and external finish of the west facade support this assumption.

(b) Bay one. Rectangular in plan, the first bay is covered by the "Kariye type" domical vault, similar to the central bay of the inner narthex.[124] Most of the mosaic of the central vault is missing, although well preserved in the supporting arches. The revetments have almost entirely disappeared, although several of the setting pins are still in place. Much of the skirting survives, except along the west wall.

A portal in the north wall opens to the exterior. The Proconnesian marble frame still survives; its sill is above the level of the skirting (Fig. 115). A relieving arch forms a window above the portal. The tall facade arch to the west was closed when the building was transformed into a mosque.[125] During the restoration, the fill was removed and replaced by a thin curtain wall.

(c) Bay two. The second bay is the same size as the first, covered by an identical "Kariye type" domical vault; the mosaic covering of the vault is in good condition.[126] The marble frames of the mosaic icons partially survive on the east and west pilasters between the first and second bays; the icons themselves are fragmentary.[127]

The arch of the facade was turned into a tomb arcosolium, probably in the fifteenth century (Tomb C). Both the Italianate fresco on the curtain wall and the raised exterior ground level suggest a date later than Tombs E and F.[128] The back wall of the arcosolium rises only to the height of the cornice; above this a lunette window was inserted. The mosaic of the soffit was left intact, but was extended to meet the window frame by a band of painted plaster. The lower section of the arcosolium was filled by the wall sarcophagus; above that level the marble revetment was left in position on the walls, and fragments still survive around the edge of the fresco. These extend another 6 cm behind the painting surface. The skirting survives almost completely, giving a good indication of its original appearance.

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[123] The revetment fragments are imbedded in the sides of the inserted curtain wall; see Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), 226 and fig. 8. The reveals measure 88–89 cm, except for bay six, which measures 74 cm thick; ibid., 215–16. The inner ca. 65 cm was revetted.

[124] For illustration see Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* II, pl. 211.

[125] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), 215–16.

[126] For illustration see Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* II, pl. 216.

[127] For illustrations see ibid., pls. 179–80.

[128] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), 225 ff; idem, "Palaeologan Narrative Style and an Italianate Fresco of the Fifteenth Century in the Kariye Djami," *Studies in the History of Art Dedicated to William Suida on His Eightieth Birthday* (London, 1959), 1–9; idem, *Kariye Djami,* I, 292–95; III, pls. 548–49.

(d) Bay three. On the main axis of the building, the third bay is almost square in plan, covered by a single domical vault (Fig. 116). Both the west and east walls of this bay are filled by large portals. The pilasters of the east wall are decorated with framed icons of the Virgin Hodegitria and John the Baptist.[129] Fragments of multicolored revetment in scalloped patterns survive above, and other framing fragments were found on the south pier of the west wall.

The door to the esonarthex is framed by elaborately carved jambs and lintel of Proconnesian marble and topped by the lunette mosaic of Christ Pantokrator, which is inscribed, *I(ēsou)s Ch(risto)s hē Chōra ton Zōntōn* (Jesus Christ, the dwelling place of the living), indicating the dedication of the church, and a play on the name of the monastery (Fig. 118).[130] The marble doorframe is set in a larger opening, filled in by a plaster band on either side. The springing of a shallow, relieving arch is visible to either side of the lintel.[131]

The western facade arch appears to have been originally completely open. It is now closed by a doorframe, but this is simple, poorly fitted, and constructed of spolia (Fig. 125). The sill is a reused lintel, which had been inverted and did not fit the width of the jambs (Fig. 126). The frame faces only outward and is roughly finished on the inside. The extreme difference in quality between this and the inner portal makes it difficult to believe that they resulted from the same building program.[132] The sill forms a step downward into the exonarthex from the higher ground level.

The lunette above the door is decorated with a mosaic of the Virgin Vlachernitissa flanked by angels, inscribed *M(ēt)ēr Th(eo)u hē Chōra tou Achōritou* (Mother of God, the dwelling place of the Uncontainable), giving the second dedication and another play on the name of the monastery. The mosaics of the vault and arches of the bay survive in part, but are missing at the peaks.[133]

(e) Bays four and five. The fourth and fifth bays are rectangular in plan and noticeably smaller than the other bays of the narthexes, corresponding in size to the south domed bay of the esonarthex. Both are covered by "Kariye type" sail vaults, with broad lateral arches (Fig. 117). Much of the mosaic has been lost in the upper portions of the vaulting, but survives in the lower.[134] Below the cornice, most of the revetment is missing, although a bit of the upper border survives on the east wall, and a fragment of the mosaic icon survives with framing revetment on the western pier between the two bays.

The arcades of the facade were transformed into arcosolia similar to the second bay, but the three vary slightly in form and were not added at the same time, as evidenced on the exterior by the difference in the construction of the screen walls and a progressive rise in ground level from Tomb E to Tomb G.[135] Both Tombs E and F are datable from the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Tomb F, bay four, contains monograms of the Dermokaites, Asan, and Palaeologos families, but there is little to suggest a date, except that it postdates adjacent Tomb E and is thus after 1330.[136] Tomb E in bay five has been identified as that of Irene Raoulaina Palaeologina, mother-in-law of Metochites' daughter, and is dated ca. 1325–30, that is, within a decade of the completion of the building.[137] Like Tomb G, these arcosolia were filled during the Turkish alterations and a window inserted in each, destroying the upper section of the tomb decoration.

Only the inserted curtain wall of Tomb F was decorated with paintings; the revetments were left in the upper portions of the reveals, but were later removed by the Turks. The mosaic of the soffit was also left intact. No lunette window was left in the upper portion, unlike the other two tombs.[138] The band of setting bed that bordered the mosaic of the soffit was removed and replaced by a painted plaster border. The inserted curtain wall was placed at the outer limit of the revetment, which has since disappeared. Fragments of the skirting, however, remain in situ. The coffin has entirely disappeared.[139]

Tomb E in the fifth bay was the first to have been added in the exonarthex and the most extensively decorated. The screen wall was plastered and painted, but stopped at the cornice level to include a small lunette window. The revetment of the reveals was removed and replaced by painted plaster, and a smaller masonry arch was inserted above the cornice, also plastered and painted. This may have been a necessary structural addition to reinforce the original brick arch which appears to have been fractured.[140] Some deformation has occurred in this area of the building, and there is a noticeable outward lean to the south pier.

During the paving of the floor of the exonarthex in 1959, a vaulted tomb was discovered under the floor of the fifth bay, probably positioned in relationship to the arcosolium above (Fig. 121).[141] The tomb had long since been looted, but still contained the bones of at least three bodies. In addition, the floor of the tomb was littered with

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[129] For illustrations see Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, II, pls. 181–82.

[130] Rüdell, *Kahrie-Dschamisi*, pl. 8; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 39; II, pls. 17-19.

[131] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, II, pl. 17.

[132] This is, however, accepted by Underwood, ibid., I, 21.

[133] Underwood, ibid., I, 40 ff; II, pls. 20–25, 228.

[134] Underwood, ibid., II, pls. 246, 249.

[135] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), 215 ff.

[136] Ibid., 223–25; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 288–92.

[137] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), 216–22; idem, *Kariye Djami*, I, 280–88.

[138] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), 223 ff; idem, *Kariye Djami*, I, 288–92.

[139] A monogram fragment which may have come from this tomb was found in the north annex; see above, note 60.

[140] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), 216–22 and fig. 9.

[141] Idem, *Kariye Djami*, I, 288 and note 19, notes that six persons were represented in the tomb painting, and not all of them could have been buried in the arcosolium; the tomb below could have taken the other bodies.

architectural debris from the exonarthex above, including fragments of verde antico and Proconnesian marble revetment, pieces of the bullnose borders, mosaic setting plaster, and tesserae. The construction of the tomb is crude and irregular; its simple, dirt floor was not paved. Except for its relationship to Tomb E, there is nothing to suggest a date, and it may have been a later addition.

The tomb is trapezoidal in plan, measuring 2.25 m in length and varying between 1.88 m and 2.25 m in width. Its uneven floor is approximately 2.0 m below the level of the exonarthex floor. The tomb is covered by a longitudinal barrel vault ca. 1.60 m high. Only the lower portion of the west wall of the tomb is brick and mortar construction, but this section is a part of the foundation of the west facade wall. The upper section of the west wall is rough courses of stone set in red mortar. The other walls are crude stone construction with mud mortar. The vaulting continues the horizontal courses of the north and south walls, except at the peak, where brick and stone are laid in slanting courses. A trapdoor was left in the southwest corner.

(f) Bay six. The sixth bay is considerably larger than any of the others of the west facade, its width determined by that of the parecclesion, as this bay forms the corner between the two units. Attached to the south side is an extra thickness of wall which includes a spiral staircase that originally led to the bell tower above this corner of the building. A small door in the south wall provides access to the stairs; it is framed in marble with a relieving arch above. A window in the upper lunette of the south wall opens from the stairs into the exonarthex, and has been incorporated into the design of the mosaic.[142] The belfry will be discussed later.

The arch of the west facade is nearly identical to the first bay; no arcosolium was inserted, and the arch was closed off only with the Turkish conversion of the building. The fill was removed in the 1950s, revealing the cuttings for the fourteenth-century closure slab and a fragment of coping (Fig. 122).[143] This is now filled with a screen wall.

The entire area of the bay is covered by a domical vault, and about half of its mosaic surface survives. A ceramic tube or jug is placed in each corner.[144] These were originally exposed and the mosaic adjusted around them. The arches to the north and east were given a double thickness in construction—two lengths of brick—because of the extra load these needed to support. In spite of the obvious attempt to strengthen the arches, there is some structural incongruity: at the southeast corner the arch does not meet the wall pilaster and is supported by a corbel (Fig. 120). This is probably due to the discrepancy in the measurement of the two arches, the east being about 60 cm wider than the north. The arches evidently proved ineffective under the weight of the tower above, and there is a noticeable outward lean to both the northwest and southeast piers.

These arches were reinforced, probably within a short time of the initial construction, by the insertion of pointed masonry arches on columns with reused capitals and no bases (Fig. 116). This was done with considerable care, as an examination of details

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[142] For illustration, see Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, II, fig. 107. As interpreted by Hawkins, the purpose of the window was to signal the bellringer when the entrance procession was to begin.

[143] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), fig. 11.

[144] Idem, *Kariye Djami*, I, 135; II, pl. 251; and above, note 38.

indicates: the mortar joints in the masonry arches have been etched; the capitals fit with the columns, and the cornice pieces have been added above to join with the wall cornices. The care of execution is particularly evident in the southeast corner: the corbel has been notched and the capital fitted into it (Fig. 120). The inserted arch springs from a cornice matching and extended from the original wall cornices. The columns and capitals are spolia but are well adapted to a new location.[145] The cornices of the inner wall are slightly higher than those of the outer wall, due to the settling of the outer foundation, but the shorter column has been placed on the inside of both arches, necessitating a mortar fill above the inner column capitals to bring the cornice additions up to the proper height (Fig. 116).

Hawkins has suggested that the reinforcement of bay six is contemporary with the addition of Tomb E to bay five, noting that while the north pier of the arcosolium leans outward, the figure of a monk painted on it disregards the angle and is positioned vertically.[146] This is not the case on the opposite side of the arcosolium, where the pier and the figure are parallel. Thus, speculates Hawkins, the pier must have been already deformed when the figure was painted. But it should also be taken into consideration that the outer columns of each of the inserted arches also have a slight outward lean, and, considering the mediocre nature of the painting, not too much weight should be given to this evidence. Nevertheless, the reinforcement of the arch above Tomb E seems to have been necessitated by structural damage. It is constructed of cut stone similar to the larger arches, and the care given the addition would argue for an early date.

A few pieces of revetment survive behind the top of the northeast column, including the metal cramps. The mosaic icon and part of its marble framing also remain on the southeast pilaster, behind the inserted column (Fig. 120). Almost all of the skirting survives. There is a noticeable slope to the floor in the southwest corner which corresponds with a massive crack in the south end of the west facade, resulting from the settling of the foundations and the weight of the belfry.

(g) Bay seven. The final bay of the exonarthex is on the south side of the building, to the east of bay six, and acts as a transition from the more open portion of the outer narthex to the enclosed parecclesion (Fig. 119). The bay is almost square in plan, and the domical vault is identical in form to the covering of the sixth bay.

A door and window in the south facade correspond to a door and window in the north wall of the bay, leading to the inner narthex. Both sets of openings are off-center with respect to the seventh bay, but are symmetrically positioned in relation to the exterior articulation and the inner narthex. Both portals have simple marble frames with relieving arches above. The upper window in the north wall is arched and was originally glazed; some of the plaster frame has survived. Both this window and the window in the relieving arch below had been blocked, but were reopened in the 1950s.[147] The soffit of the lower window was frescoed to imitate Proconnesian marble. The outer door is now permanently blocked, but as its exterior articulation and position on axis indicate, it must originally have been an important entrance to the building. The tripartite, mullioned window above is similar to those of the parecclesion, but somewhat smaller; it is also a bit off-center with respect to the door below.

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[145] H. Belting, "Gruppe," 263–71, suggests rather inconclusively that these capitals are from the 11th-century naos; but see Hjort, "Sculpture," 237–42. The columns are also spolia and are not all of the same material.

[146] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, III, pl. 542; Hjort, "Sculpture," 237–38.

[147] Dumbarton Oaks photograph H57.449.

The window appears slightly asymmetrical, but this is the result of structural damage in this area. It was carefully repaired, but the damage is still evident from the exterior (Fig. 129). The damage to this bay probably resulted from the weight of the adjacent belfry. A drainpipe set in the wall to the west of the openings may also have weakened it. The pipe probably led to the cisterns below the parecclesion, but was removed when the masonry was repaired.[148]

Little of the surface covering of the bay survives; only a fragment of the vault mosaic and none of the revetments remain. Most of the skirting is still in place, as is the cornice, which continues without a break into the parecclesion.

Exterior

1. West facade (Figs. 3, 4, 14, 18, 124–127)

The west facade of the Kariye Camii is composed both irregularly and asymmetrically. Formed by an arcade of six arches of varying widths, the spacing is generally determined by the irregular plan of the exonarthex (Figs. 3, 10). Although the main entrance in the third bay is on the main longitudinal axis of the building, it is off-center with respect to the facade because of the wide sixth bay to the south which corresponds to the width of the parecclesion. The domes over the inner narthex should have been a visual consideration in the organization of the facade, but these bear little relationship to the arcade, differ in size, and are not symmetrically disposed.

The west facade was originally an open portico facade, with parapets in the lower portion of the individual arcades. Despite the irregular spacing of the supports of the arcade, all the openings are approximately the same width, varying between 1.79 and 1.84 m. The irregularities in measurements were compensated for by the masonry piers which vary in width from approximately 1.24 m between bays four and five to 2.67 m between bays five and six.[149] Equalizing the size of the openings would have helped regularize the visual impression of the facade from the exterior.

The appearance of the west facade has suffered with the passage of time. The arcades were closed by slightly projecting masonry walls that formed tomb arcosolia on the interior or by thinner curtain walls where no tomb was inserted. The central opening was fitted with a doorframe with a reused lintel as a sill (Figs. 125–126). In addition, the upper profile of the facade was altered ca. 1875 when the roof was leveled for the application of lead sheeting. The formerly undulating Byzantine roofline was replaced by a severe, level cornice.

The masonry of these three phases of building activity is distinctly different. The

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[148] Dumbarton Oaks photographs H57.459–.460, H57.482.

[149] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), 215–28.

majority of the wall area consists of the initial Palaeologan construction of four bands of brick alternating with four bands of stone (Figs. 3–4). The surface is finely finished with evenly dressed stones, and the construction quality is high. The voussoirs of the arcade are composed of an alternating pattern of three bricks to one stone. The fill of the openings is composed of stonework of varying quality and finish. The screen walls of bays one and six, originally constructed in Turkish times, were completely rebuilt in 1957; elsewhere the stone fill was refurbished.[150] A third area of construction is seen in the spandrels above the arches of bays one to five. This rubble fill was added in the nineteenth century to level the roof.

Some repair work was done on the west facade in the 1950s. The small Turkish windows were removed, and the upper portion of the arches were opened to form large lunette windows. Much of the lower masonry surface had deteriorated and required replacement.[151] This had occurred not just on the screen walls, but in the original construction as well. The arch of bay five had been broken and repaired at least twice; a second stone arch had been inserted when the tomb arcosolium was constructed in the fourteenth century. This was repaired again when the Turkish fill was inserted and the south portion of both arches was partially replaced. A crack in the upper portion of bay six—perhaps the result of the earthquake of 1894—was also repaired.

The articulation of the original fourteenth-century facade was lively, and the planar surface was almost entirely dematerialized. The piers are enlivened by two-step responds and applied colonnettes, all constructed of alternating brick and stone and topped by a chamfered marble cornice at the springing point of the arches. The original wall openings did not correspond directly to this system of articulation; set within each of the facade arches was a smaller arched opening topped by a brick arch, the peak of which was approximately a meter lower than the facade arch. The cornices stop short of the arched openings and do not intersect the inner wall surface (Fig. 124). This dual system was necessary in order to reconcile the interior elevation of the exonarthex with the elevation of the west facade. While the spacing of the piers is determined by the internal divisions, there is little relationship in elevation between the interior and exterior. This resulted from the floor level of the exonarthex being close to 60 cm lower than the ground level (see section, Fig. 123). The facade was elevated accordingly.

The plastic articulation of the facade was emphasized by the horizontal string course which follows the projections of the colonnettes and the responds. Often constructed of reused marble slabs, the cornices were recarved to fit their specific locations (Fig. 124).[152] This string course tops only the responds and does not intersect the innermost wall surface. It stops at the north end of the facade but continues uninterrupted to the western portion of the south facade.

The present, flat roof creates a rather stark appearance. However, several nineteenth-century illustrations give an impression of the building before the restoration of

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[150] Ibid., 215–16.

[151] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 278–83; idem, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), 216–28 and fig. 9. See also Dumbarton Oaks photographs H57.447, H57.750.

[152] Hjort, "Sculpture," 266–67, figs. 90–91, includes a reused parapet slab carved to fit as a facade string course, but apparently never used.

1875–76 (Figs. 31, 32, 35, 37, 40). From these it is clear that the arches of the facade were originally topped by a double dogtooth cornice following the scalloped profile of the arches. This is clearly indicated in a detail of the west facade provided by Pulgher, and the scalloped profile and undulating roofline are also visible in the nineteenth-century photograph (Figs. 39–40).

The wide, sixth bay of the facade contains an arched opening the size of the others, but the flanking wall masses are increased in width. Unlike the original scalloped roofline of the other arches, the fourteenth-century construction continues to a higher elevation, approximately two meters above the arched opening, forming a blocky projection above the south bay. This was originally the base of the belfry, subsequently removed by the Turks. The thin cornice at the top of the wall is a Turkish addition; the tower was evidently chopped off at the lowest point that would not interfere with the decorative features of the facades. Of the belfry, only the west and south walls survive, incorporated into the respective facades. The north and east walls of the belfry were removed above the level of the vaulting (Fig. 13). The south projection is now topped by a Turkish minaret which rises approximately 30.70 m above the ground level. The minaret utilizes the base and spiral stairs of the former belfry.

The large size of the sixth bay was not easily disguised. At the southern extreme, the extension of the wall surface is articulated by a thin, stepped-in recess, topped by an ogival arch with a finely cut stone frame. The tympanum of the arch contains one of the monograms of Metochites (Fig. 127). The same features appear immediately around the corner of the projection of the south facade, but these are not coordinated with the articulation of the west facade. Similarly, the joint of the upper portion of the belfry with the scalloped roofline of the adjacent bay was left virtually unresolved, with the dogtooth cornice ending abruptly as it encountered the upward projection of the tower.

2. *South facade* (Figs. 5, 15, 19, 128–133)

The south facade is closely related to the west facade, continuing a similar system of decorative articulation and asymmetrical disposition. The south flank of the building rests on a substructure of large, irregular blocks of stone, exposed as the ground falls away to the east. The superstructure is constructed of alternating brick and stone, identical to the west facade; the masonry is continuous and bonded.

The facade is composed of four arched bays of varying sizes, divided horizontally by a string course at the springing of the arches. To the west is the base of the belfry, the western portion of which projects outward from the wall surface (Figs. 5, 15). The two eastern bays are identical in size and articulation, with centrally positioned windows above the string course (Fig. 128). The two smaller, western bays differ. The small, inner bay is left plain, while the western bay includes a portal, now blocked, and a window above (Fig. 129). While the bays vary in size, the large, central bay is aligned with the parecclesion dome which, in turn, is positioned in relation to the dome of the naos. A strong, central axis is thus created, giving the facade some sense of organization.

The south facade is relatively well preserved, having undergone few alterations over the centuries and having required few repairs. Like the west facade, the roof was leveled in 1875–76, and the spandrels between the arches were filled with rubble construction. Except for a somewhat schematic drawing of the south portal from Lenoir of 1852, no early illustrations of this side of the building survive, but the arches were no doubt also topped by a double dogtooth cornice, as Lenoir indicated by a double zigzag line (Fig. 34). This scalloped cornice was totally removed on the western half of the facade, but a single row of dogtooth bricks survives over the eastern arch and over half of the central arch. Minor repairs were carried out in the 1950s. When tie rods were added in the parecclesion and exonarthex, the end braces were left totally or partially exposed on the exterior wall surface at the level of the string course.

Although basically closed in character, the exterior articulation of the facade is lively, consisting primarily of two-step responds with applied colonnettes; the plastic articulation is emphasized by the projecting cornice which follows these forms. The responds are occasionally related to the internal structural divisions, but it is obvious that the system is primarily nonstructural and, therefore, decorative in character. The two wide, eastern bays coincide with the two large bays of the parecclesion, but an extra set of responds with colonnette has been added to the broad expanse of wall surface within each bay, incongruously "supporting" the windows. The western bays, on the other hand, bear no relationship to the immediate interior spaces. Thinner than the eastern bays, the western arched bay breaks with the system established elsewhere on the facade. The portal is flanked by arched, recessed niches which isolate this unit (Fig. 129). The bay, in fact, is aligned with the inner narthex, which apparently dictated its width. The door and window above it are both on axis with internal openings into the esonarthex. The intervening surface between this facade bay and the two regular, eastern bays is filled by a smaller bay, its wall surface left plain.

The extreme western section was the base of the belfry (Fig. 130). A portion of the base continues the mural surface of the south facade and is decorated with a niche corresponding to those in the adjoining bay. The projecting portion of the base is decorated with recesses topped by ogival arches with fine stone frames. The tympana of these arches bear the monograms of Metochites (Figs. 131–132). Narrow slit windows appear in the lower areas of the base, lighting the spiral stairway accommodated within the wall mass. The string course is continuous from the west facade around the projecting portion of the belfry base. Across the rest of the facade, the string course is approximately 60 cm lower and corresponds to the interior cornice level.

Another ogival arch decorates the wall unit at the opposite end of the facade (Fig. 133). This is constructed of brick, and its squat tympanum is decorated with a diaper pattern. The articulation with responds and half columns continues around the corner to the apse.

Tall windows appear in the lunettes of the three larger bays. All are tripartite and mullioned, with stilted arches, formed by an arched, central opening with lower, half arches on the sides. Both the east and west mullioned windows now appear slightly asymmetrical in form because of the fracturing and repair of the wall in these areas. This is clearly visible on the west window, where an additional stone voussoir has been inserted (Fig. 129).

3. *East facade* (Figs. 1, 6, 16, 134–142)

The east facade is the least unified of the building faces; it is here that the history of the edifice is most exposed. The central portion rests on foundations of the sixth to ninth centuries; the bema apse is from the twelfth century; the parecclesion and the northern annex, as well as the flying buttress that supports the main apse, are fourteenth-century additions. The pastophoria are also Palaeologan, although their external facades are primarily the result of twentieth-century restoration. The surfaces are lively: the degree of projection of the apses differs; the apses of the bema and parecclesion are articulated by recesses on several levels as well as by decorative brickwork; a random smattering of domes is visible; and the massing of forms is asymmetrical. As the units were treated individually, their exterior articulation will be discussed separately. The substructures below the bema and the pastophoria are formed by the remains of an arcade (Fig. 135); these were discussed at length in Chapter 1. In the Comnenian and Palaeologan periods, this area was probably not meant to be seen and not given any sort of formal articulation.

The main apse is centrally positioned above the two foundation arches (Figs. 134–137). The external surface of the apse is battered slightly, probably with the intent to provide stability on the sloping terrain. The apse is seven-sided and is built of bands of recessed brick alternating with occasional bands of stone. It is pierced centrally by a large, tripartite, mullioned window. The lights are topped by identical, slightly stilted arches. The lower reveals and base are framed in marble. The surfaces around the window are articulated by a series of alternating rectangular and semicircular stepped-in recesses on two levels. The main zone of niches coincides with the window, but the recesses flanking the window drop below the level of the sill to approximately the level of the floor inside. The area below the window was filled with three low, recessed arches. A second zone of alternating niches on an upper level is aligned with those below. The upper portion of the majority of the recesses is decorated with herringbone or chevron patterns in brick. A similar chevron pattern may be seen in the exposed niche of the interior of the apse which counters the thickness of the wall.

The Touring and Automobile Club of Turkey cleaned the surface of the apse recently and removed the external plaster. In addition, the surface was entirely repointed and the original mortar beds concealed. During the earlier repairs to the prothesis roof, another niche on the north side of the apse was exposed. It is now covered by prothesis construction, but indicates that the twelfth-century decoration originally continued around the sides of the apse (Fig. 138).

Neither the prothesis nor the diaconicon is bonded to the central apse. On both, the external walls had fallen into a state of disrepair and were refaced with mortared rubble until the restoration by the Byzantine Institute (Figs. 134–135). The form of the prothesis is low, and its dome is not exposed; the roof protrudes slightly, but the large portion of the blind dome is set within a mass of masonry. The conch of the apse is exposed and is now capped in concrete, as is the roof. To the side, the north wall extends eastward, topped by a double dogtooth cornice (Figs. 138, 141, 144).

The construction of the prothesis displays typical Palaeologan alternation of brick and stone, but with three courses of brick to four of stone. As the prothesis joins the north annex, the pattern changes to the more familiar four-to-four; however, an examination of the joint suggests that the two units were the result of continuous building activity. It may be that this chamber was the earliest of the Palaeologan additions and that the builders changed the pattern in the midst of construction.

The prothesis was restored in 1956 (Figs. 138, 141).[153] The masonry of the entire south side of the apse had deteriorated and was refaced. The north section of the apse retained its original brickwork, by which the coursing was determined. A single Turkish window had replaced the tripartite Byzantine window, which was restored with new mullions.

The exterior of the diaconicon is also plain, with a three-sided apse projecting from the wall surface (Fig. 135). Its form is quite different from that of the prothesis. The conch of the apse is not exposed, but is encased in masonry up to the roofline. The dome is exposed, raised on an octagonal drum, but with only three windows opening to the east; the rest are encased by the adjacent building units. The dome is topped by an undulating eave. Immediately to the south of the dome is an arched opening to a gallery-level passage, now closed by a window. The dome is constructed entirely of brick, while the lower wall surfaces are constructed of alternating bands of brick and stone corresponding and bonded with the parecclesion construction.

The external surface of the diaconicon was in poor condition and had been faced with Turkish rubble, with the window completely covered (Fig. 134). The Turkish additions were removed in 1957, and the exterior was entirely refaced. Enough survived of the original construction to determine the coursing, as well as the form and position of the window. The drum of the dome had been coated with plaster and its cornice leveled, as was done with all other domes on the building. Only the diaconicon dome was returned to its original form; its plaster was removed, the surface cleaned, and the undulating eave was restored.[154] The gallery passageway was reconstructed at the same time.

The plainness of the wall surfaces of the prothesis and the diaconicon contrasts with the more extravagant exteriors of the bema and the parecclesion. The simplicity of these exteriors may have aimed at visual unification of the divergent components of the facade.

The apse of the parecclesion is six-sided; five segments are arranged symmetrically, and the sixth on the north side joins the wall of the diaconicon (Fig. 139). The east end of the parecclesion is elevated some three meters above the present ground level. The base is composed of irregular blocks of limestone, topped by a row of large blocks which form the stylobate on which the parecclesion rests.

The apse of the parecclesion continues many of the features of articulation from the south facade, while echoing others of the main apse. The three-dimensional system of responds and applied colonnettes continues from the south facade, but is merged with a system of alternating rectangular and semicircular niches on two levels. The upper string course is continuous with that of the south facade and echoes the plastic articulation of the colonnettes and niches (Fig. 140). The lower string course, at the sill level of the apse window, follows the somewhat simpler system of the lower wall surface. The conches and tympana on both levels are decorated with brick in a variety of patterns, primarily chevron and herringbone. A mullioned, tripartite window is positioned in the central niche; its form is attenuated, and the arches are stilted. The wall surface is topped by a dogtooth eave, above which rises the conch of the apse.

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[153] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 269–70, figs. 3–4.

[154] Ibid., 269 ff. See also Ousterhout, *Architecture*, 204–5 for more extensive documentation of repairs to the diaconicon.

The picturesque character of the apse overrides certain incongruities in its design. The lower string course bears no relationship to internal or external structural divisions; it simply breaks the decorative features of the facade into two zones. The niches serve only to enliven the exterior. The apse window bears no relationship to the system of articulation; it is too wide for the central niche and breaks the line of the responds. Rather than integrated into the system, it is juxtaposed against it. Finally, the joint between the plastically treated exterior of the parecclesion and the plain exterior of the diaconicon is also poorly resolved. An extra arch is added at the top, but without a corresponding niche below. The lower string course ends as it intersects the diaconicon; the upper string course, above the roof level of the diaconicon, stops inconclusively at the edge of the arch.

Few restorations were necessary on the parecclesion apse. The window had been partially blocked; this was opened. Some pointing was redone, and a small area of masonry was repaired on the extreme north side.[155] The substructures had been broken into to gain access to the cisterns; twin openings are visible in early illustrations (Fig. 134). These openings were filled, and their positions cannot be detected today. A tie rod was inserted in the south corner of the parecclesion at cornice level to consolidate the south wall; a brace was set in the masonry at this point.[156]

The east face of the north annex is treated more simply (Fig. 141). The facade is composed of two stories, separated by a string course. The lower wall, partially blocked by the position of the prothesis, has been left a flat surface, while the upper wall is articulated by a recessed arch, which echoes the form of the barrel vault of the interior and corresponds in general form to the features of the north facade. The upper wall surface is set back slightly from the lower wall surface at the line of the string course. Construction is of four brick courses alternating with four courses of stone, breaking with the pattern of the adjacent prothesis and with the interior of the northern annex.

The windows of the northern annex are staggered vertically. The lower two are arched and set flush with the north wall of the prothesis. The upper window is rectangular, with a marble frame, and is set slightly off-center within the exterior arcade. It is topped by a relieving arch. The lack of alignment, coupled with the settling of the foundations, caused a structural break in the wall which was repaired in the 1950s.

Above the arch, up to the raking cornice, the wall surface is a nineteenth-century addition, the result of the change in the roof of the north annex. Prior to that time, the

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[155] Dumbarton Oaks photograph H57.772.

[156] For documentation, see Dumbarton Oaks photographs H56.391–.393.

facade was terminated in a yoke-shaped outline, topped by a cornice that follows the curve of the barrel vault, as seen in Lenoir's illustration (Fig. 33). Although the form of the roof has been restored, the raking cornices at either end were left in place.

A flying buttress was added in the fourteenth century to strengthen the twelfth-century apse on unstable terrain (Fig. 5). The form, a freestanding pier, joined to the building by flyers on two levels, was apparently borrowed from Gothic architecture; almost no comparable examples are to be found in the Byzantine world. It is unlikely that the buttress did much good; over the centuries, its base separated from the main body of the church, and the central flyer collapsed (Fig. 142). The construction corresponds to other Palaeologan additions: four courses of brick alternating with four of stone, resting on a base of larger stones; the flyers are constructed of brick. A third arch, joining the apse wall below the level of the window, may have originally been free, but the space below is now filled in. The flyer that had collapsed was rebuilt in the early 1950s.

4. *North facade* (Figs. 7, 17, 143–147)

Like the east facade, the north face consists of several distinct building parts which bear little relationship to each other. An examination indicates that the joints are bonded and that the units of the north facade were constructed at the same time. The majority of the wall surface belongs to the northern annex, which projects forward from the surfaces of the prothesis and the narthexes (Figs. 7, 17).

The prothesis wall rises above a rather crude foundation of irregular stones and occasional bricks. The upper surface has been left plain, broken only by two thin, arched windows and the dogtooth cornices at the top of the wall (Fig. 144). The method of construction displays three courses of brick alternating with four of stone, differing from the adjacent north annex.

The north annex has the most regular of all the building's facades, which rests on a base of large, even blocks of stone. The superstructure is articulated by evenly spaced rows of four recessed arches on two levels, corresponding with the two levels of the interior, with the lower arches approximately twice as tall as the upper arches (Fig. 7). These are, however, of the same width and are aligned vertically. The two zones are separated by a string course at the floor level of the upper chamber, and the upper level is set back slightly from the lower wall surface. The marble of the string course is apparently in second use. One section, positioned between the two easternmost arches of the arcade, is a reused parapet slab decorated with a wide border and a fleur-de-lis in the corner of the field (Fig. 146).[157] The mural construction is four brick courses alternating with four of stone, which continues unbroken into the narthexes.

The architectonic appearance of the facade belies the lack of correspondence with the interior articulation. Directly behind the wall is a staircase, the four slit windows of which are visible on the exterior; all but the lowest window are positioned centrally in the facade elements. Two rectangular, marble-framed windows, topped by relieving arches, are set in the eastern two arches of the upper level.[158] Only in these two upper bays is there general correspondence between interior and exterior. The position of the stairs did not allow a window elsewhere in the wall. In the lower, west bay, a door was broken through in Turkish times.

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[157] Too little of the relief sculpture is visible for a detailed analysis to be given. There are some similarities with pieces discussed by Hjort, "Sculpture," 266–67, and fig. 90; for a fuller discussion of this fragment, see Ousterhout, *Architecture*, 216–17.

The spandrels between arches include a variety of decorative patterns: herringbone, corbeled "heart," diaper, and basketweave patterns (Figs. 7, 145). The variety and position of these patterns differ from those elsewhere on the building. As can be discerned from a nineteenth-century photograph, the cornice at the top was originally a double dogtooth (Fig. 40). This was removed when the roof was recovered in 1875–76. The present, upper layer of stone is Turkish.

The north face of the narthexes is set back from the north annex facade and bears little relationship to it; however, the masonry coursing is identical and continuous (Fig. 147). Both the inner and outer narthex facades are articulated by recessed arches, but these differ considerably in width and height, generally following the dimensions of the interiors. In their present forms the discrepancy is disconcerting, but it can be explained with the aid of an early illustration by Pulgher (Fig. 38). The inner narthex facade originally formed a blocky base, supporting a dome, while the exonarthex had a scalloped roofline, topped by a double dogtooth cornice, like the west facade. The present, flat roof and the disappearance of the original cornices emphasize a similarity that was not evident earlier.

A tripartite, mullioned window of the high-shouldered type is positioned centrally within the arch of the inner narthex facade. On the interior, however, the window is off-center. It was positioned in relationship to the exterior; similarly the facade arch was not completely aligned with the interior. The upper portion of the window has been replaced, as have the central area of the wall and the arch above it, as well as a large area of masonry below the sill. Large cracks also appear in the lower wall surface. The wall was apparently damaged prior to the mid-nineteenth century, probably by a combination of foundations settling and earthquake forces. Prior to the restorations of 1875–76, a great stone buttress had been constructed against this wall surface, as it was in danger of collapse (Figs. 37–38). The buttress was removed and the wall repaired prior to the publication of Shmit in 1906, although the date of this repair is not certain.[159] The deformation of the wall surface is still visible: the wall bulges outward toward the top, and the arch above is quite irregular.

The lower surface of the exonarthex facade is dotted with numerous metal cramps, set into the surface with marble plugs (Fig. 147). Similar cramps appear on the interior of the exonarthex and were used to attach the marble revetment to the wall. Their function on this external surface may have been similar, although they conform to no apparent pattern and appear nowhere else on the exterior of the building. It may be questioned whether this small and rather insignificant area of facade was revetted, or if

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[158] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, fig. 100; also Rüdell, *Kahrie-Dschamisi*, pl. 9.

[159] Shmit, *Kakhrie-dzhami*, II, pl. 74.

this was at one point an interior wall, part of an adjoining monastic building that abutted this surface.[160]

The north facade of the exonarthex contains a centrally positioned, marble-framed door, topped by a relieving arch that forms a window above the door. Just above the peak of the arch, projecting corbels are set to either side. Unmatched, these are probably spoils and may have supported a porch of some sort.

5. *External walls of the naos* (Figs. 2, 148–150, 153)

Above the south, west, and north facades, the upper portions of the twelfth-century naos walls are visible. These form lunettes which enclose the arms of the cruciform naos. As the height of the ancillary chambers varies on each side, the amount of exposed wall surface above these differs. Except for the east end of the building, the twelfth-century surface is entirely plastered. A fragment of a meander pattern survives on the upper east wall to the north of the apse, and similar patterning may have appeared elsewhere on the building (Fig. 135). The plastic articulation is still evident and is similar on all three facades. The wall surface is recessed from the arch of the roof by three profiled steps that follow the curve of the lunette; these express externally the arches that carry the dome. The windows are also recessed from the wall surface. On the south lunette, stepped-in arches flanking the window are still visible (Fig. 148), and similar recesses existed on the west lunette but are now covered by plaster.[161] The same features probably appeared on the north lunette as well, but were obscured by the addition of the tall, two-storied annex (Fig. 149). In addition to the three-dimensional treatment of the lunette, the pier to the east of the south lunette was hollowed out by a large niche (Fig. 148). Presumably a similar recess appeared in a corresponding position on the north wall.

The tripartite windows in the lunettes were originally high shouldered with stilted arches raised on mullions. These have suffered considerably with the alterations effected since the twelfth century. The sills of the west and south windows have been raised, and the lower portions of the mullions have been buried by the addition of the ancillary chambers. In the north lunette, only the upper portion of the three lights was left open; these were blocked at a later date, probably when the roof over the north annex was altered in 1875–76 (Fig. 149). Although the roof has been returned to its original form, the window was left blocked. The central portion of the west lunette arch collapsed and was repaired in the fourteenth century. The repair to the damaged window left it in a slightly different form, with the central light slightly lower than the flanking openings (Fig. 150). The change in the construction technique is clearly visible in photographs taken during the replastering of this area (Fig. 153). In Turkish times, the mullions of the west and south windows were filled in to form piers, and pointed windows were set in the lights. These appear in several early illustrations, but were apparently removed late in the nineteenth century (Figs. 35, 40). The fill around the mullions was removed in 1956 and new glazing was inserted.[162]

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[160] Cramps were discovered in the same position on the north side of the Theotokos of Lips; Megaw, "Original Form," 288, believes this to have originally been an external surface. For further comments on external revetment on Byzantine churches, see Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios: History and Architecture* (Athens, 1982), 125–30.

[161] Rüdell, *Kahrie-Dschamisi*, fig. 18 and pl. 4.

The wall surfaces of the lunettes are now slightly warped, bulging outward toward the middle. This is particularly obvious on the south lunette, which received the least buttressing from ancillary chambers (Fig. 149). These external wall surfaces have not been properly explored. While the Byzantine Institute was examining the building, neither the lunettes nor the domes were stripped of plaster covering. The upper surfaces were replastered and repainted ca. 1975 by the Touring and Automobile Club of Turkey, and the construction technique is visible in photographs taken at that time (Fig. 153).

6. *Roof* (Figs. 2, 151–153)

It is obvious from the nineteenth-century illustrations of Lenoir, Paspatēs, and Pulgher, as well as the photograph of ca. 1860, that the form of the Byzantine roof was quite different from the present one, which dates from the 1875–76 restoration. At that time, to facilitate the application of lead sheeting, large quantities of rubble were dumped onto the church to level the undulating roofline. In its altered form, flat, sloping roofs covered the narthexes, north annex, and parecclesion. This form was certainly more practical than the Byzantine roof, but the aesthetic effect of this change was unfortunate. It emphasized the irregularities of the building and made stagnant and lifeless what was once a vivid and dynamic form.

Other changes were affected by the reroofing. As noted above, the dogtooth cornices of the ancillary chambers were totally or partially removed, and the scalloped profile lost. The projecting base walls of the belfry were left standing on the two facades; however, the roofing has concealed what evidence may remain for the north and east walls of the belfry.

The roof of the parecclesion still maintains a slightly bulging form, owing to the size of its domical vaults, although the roofline was raised more than half a meter in some places (Fig. 151). In the areas flanking the parecclesion dome, the sheeting was removed and the roofing fill excavated in 1956–57 in order to consolidate the arches that support the dome (Fig. 152). Because of the fresco decoration, this was attempted from the exterior rather than from the interior. The excavation demonstrated the extent of the alterations. The lower sills of the dome windows had been raised ca. 60 cm. The dome rested on a square or octagonal base which had been entirely concealed by the raised roof. In addition, amphorae were found in the levels of Byzantine fill (Fig. 152).

The roofline of the naos crossarms was altered in several places in the 1875–76 repair. The graceless slant of the north half of the west lunette was added at that time in an effort to join the roof of the lunette to the new raking cornice of the north annex.

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[162] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 270–71, figs. 1–2.

The rough masonry additions are clearly visible in photographs taken when the plaster was removed from the upper naos (Fig. 153). Similar alterations appear on the east side of the north lunette and the north side of the east crossarm that joins the apse.

The north annex had been given a sloping roof, joined to the slant of the lunettes, and completely covering the small windows of the north lunette (Fig. 149). It has been returned to its original form, following the barrel vault of the interior; the north lunette is again exposed, but its windows were not reopened. The raking cornices were left at either end, so that the change is not visible from the ground. The roofs of the prothesis and diaconicon were also altered in 1956–57, as has been discussed above.

7. *Domes* (Figs. 2, 150–151, 153–154)

The domes of the Kariye are quite varied. No two are alike, with differences in size, proportion, and articulation. Except for the blind dome of the prothesis, all domes are exposed and raised on windowed drums. Although the naos and narthex domes may repeat twelfth-century forms, they too are the result of the rebuilding by Metochites.

The naos dome is sixteen-sided and rests on an octagonal base. The blocky base rises slightly above the peaks of the lunettes (Figs. 2, 153, 154). Most likely, the base dates from the twelfth century. The dome measures 9.36 m at its maximum external diameter. The articulation is similar to the narthex domes: recessed windows in each facet are separated by applied colonnettes and topped by a scalloped, double dogtooth cornice. Both rows of diagonal bricks are still visible, and blocky capitals top the colonnettes, a feature missing on the narthex domes. The construction is primarily of brick, with a few single bands of stone in the drum (Fig. 154).

In all of the nineteenth-century illustrations, the naos dome appears already reroofed and "helmeted." This probably occurred in the repairs of the previous century when the dome collapsed. The change of form may have been iconographic as well as utilitarian, intended to make the building look more like a mosque.[163] Alternate windows of the naos dome had been blocked prior to the earliest illustration of the building; these were reopened by the Byzantine Institute in 1956.[164] The photograph of ca. 1860 shows that at least one dome window may have survived in its original form until the 1875–76 restoration (Fig. 40). The west window of the naos dome was filled with round panes of glass, oculi in two rows, probably set in a plaster and wood frame. Fragments of oculi were discovered in the bema excavations at the Kariye.[165] It is also evident that the original windows of this dome—and those elsewhere on the church—were set back further from the wall surface than the present windows, emphasizing the plasticity of the building surfaces.

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[163] The helmet-like appearance prevails in the domes of later Turkish mosques; see B. Unsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture* (London, 1973), pls. 71–73, and other illustrations.

[164] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), figs. 1–2.

[165] Forsyth, excavation notes. Similar glazing has been found elsewhere in contemporary churches; see H. Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemaligen Pammakaristoskirche, der heutigen Fethiye Camii in Istanbul," *IM* 13–14 (1963–64), 180–81, fig. 11.

The two domes over the inner narthex differ considerably in size and proportion, and are asymmetrically positioned in relation to the naos (Figs. 2–3, 14, 150). Neither dome is entirely freestanding. Both abut wall surfaces to the east, so that only three-quarters of the drums could be fenestrated. The north dome is attached to the north annex, while the south is attached to the upper naos wall. The north dome is octagonal on the exterior, with five windows; its maximum external diameter is ca. 5.40 m. The taller and wider south dome is dodecagonal on the exterior, with nine windows and a maximum external diameter of 5.66 m. Both domes have the same articulation, however. Each facet of the drum contains a window recessed from the surface, and the facets are delineated by applied colonnettes. This echoes the form of the wall division of the west facade. Like the west facade, the dome cornices were originally scalloped and topped by a dogtooth frieze. The construction of the drum was carefully executed in alternating bands of brick and stone, identical to the Palaeologan masonry elsewhere in the building (Fig. 153).

Except for the naos dome, the domes were altered in the restoration of 1875–76, but the earlier forms are visible in older illustrations. The scalloped cornices were filled and leveled when the domes were recovered, giving them a "helmeted" appearance. The upper row of diagonal bricks was removed or covered on each dome, but the lower row is still visible. Several of the windows had been blocked prior to the nineteenth-century restoration. The flat narthex roof also covered the square bases on which the domes rested; these are clearly visible in the photograph of ca. 1860.

The parecclesion dome is dodecagonal, like the south narthex dome, but it is slightly larger, measuring 6.30 m at its widest external diameter (Fig. 151). It is completely freestanding. Its height corresponds to that of the base of the naos dome, with which it is aligned on the transverse axis. The articulation of the parecclesion dome differs from all the other domes. Pilaster strips separate the facets of the drum, blending into arches over each facet. The windows are surrounded by rolled moldings, semicircular in profile. The scalloped cornice may originally have consisted of a single dogtooth frieze only. Unfortunately no early illustration shows this dome clearly. As on the other domes, its cornice was leveled in the nineteenth century. The recessed windows of the drum have been moved closer to the external surface, as is evident from an examination of the internal reveals. The parecclesion dome originally rested on a square or possibly octagonal base, but this has been obscured by the raised roof.

CHAPTER 3

The Church of Theodore Metochites and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture

When Theodore Metochites and his builders set about to enlarge the Chora, ca. 1315–16, they faced the challenges of working on a difficult, sloping site, as well as coordinating the additions with the preexisting construction. Both required some adjustment of forms. Nevertheless, the irregularities of the plan are striking, seeming to lack an overall logic (Figs. 9–12). The edifice appears as an incongruous arrangement of parts that cannot be totally explained by preexisting elements. An examination of the Palaeologan foundations and their relation to the superstructure suggests that the entire foundation was laid prior to mural construction. In addition, the masonry is bonded between the various components, eliminating the notion that the edifice was the result of an additive or "ad hoc" approach to construction. While the building may have been conceived as a series of individual units, it was nevertheless built as an ensemble.

The seemingly illogical agglomeration of ancillary spaces at the Kariye is not out of keeping with Late Byzantine architecture in the capital. The development of enveloping spaces was characteristic of Palaeologan architecture in general, and the somewhat haphazard arrangement of elements corresponds closely with the major building projects of late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Constantinople. The irregularities in form and planning are linked with special functional requirements for the ancillary chambers which dictated special considerations in planning and resulted in numerous compromises in the final construction. Accordingly, at the Kariye, the individual units have been given an integrity that outweighs the overall planning considerations.

Before discussing the individual building components, the composition will be analyzed in relation to Late Byzantine architectural planning. The ensuing examination of the significance of the individual components will further the view of the building as a totality. The discussions of the compositional considerations and the individual components will be followed by an analysis of the formal, structural, and decorative aspects of the edifice in light of Palaeologan architectural developments.

Compositional Considerations

An examination of the individual building units and their functional requirements indicates that planning was accomplished in a piecemeal fashion; parts were related to each other but not to the whole, often with little continuity between adjacent bays or wall surfaces. Planning often appears to be the result of the individual compromises rather than the application of a firmly developed, overall architectural concept. A few examples may be cited: the bays of the exonarthex are highly irregular in size, with bays four and five squeezed together to conform to the width of the south inner narthex bay, while the sixth bay was expanded to match the width of the parecclesion; because of the necessity of good lighting in the upper northern annex, the height of the prothesis dome was limited, adding to the asymmetry of the east facade; the inner narthex domes have been shifted in accordance with the flanking spaces rather than adhering to the standard, symmetrical arrangement.

There are some larger, organizational concerns, however, which must be taken into consideration. Some planning logic is evident in the relationship of the lateral annexes to the narthex. The esonarthex extends to the north to form an entrance to the northern annex; the door between is centrally positioned in relation to both the exonarthex dome and the west wall of the passageway. In the elevation of these units, the north dome is on the same alignment as the exposed barrel vault of the north annex (Fig. 149); this arrangement was no doubt intended to block the view of the barrel vault from the west, adding an element of visual regularity to the west facade (Fig. 14). In a similar manner, the exonarthex continues around the corner to the south to form an antechamber for the parecclesion; the latter appears in plan as an extension of the former. The two combinations of spaces thus formed semi-independent, L-shaped units which envelop the core of the building on three sides, similar to the ambulatory of the slightly earlier Theotokos of Lips in Istanbul (Fig. 160).

Several organizational axes appear in the planning of the building. There is a dominant east-to-west axis running from the exonarthex to the apse on the line of the main entrance, characteristic of most church planning. Yet the narthex bays to either side of this axis seem to ignore it completely and work according to their own self-contained system of logic. Another longitudinal axis runs from the south exonarthex bay, originally topped by the belfry, through the parecclesion, but this unit is treated separately from the rest of the church. Two transversal axes also appear in the plan. The parecclesion dome is placed in alignment with the naos dome. In elevation, the height of the former is adjusted to the base of the latter (Figs. 9, 15). A second lateral axis aligns the south facade portal to the inner narthex. This was probably an important entrance; an internal door is on the same axis, centrally positioned in the south wall of the esonarthex. Even the external articulation of the south facade around the portal conforms to the width of the inner narthex (Fig. 129). However, both doors are noticeably off-center in relation to the final bay of the exonarthex between them; this space is treated as if it did not exist—as if the south facade met the inner narthex. Thus, while there is some attempt to align the building units, this was done by a system of unrelated axes which are not adjusted to the total composition.

In our examination of the Palaeologan building components, the closest analogies are found among the contemporary monuments of Constantinople and, to a lesser degree, Thessaloniki, although the Kariye exhibits planning features characteristic of the Late Byzantine period in general. The major planning contribution of Late Byzantine architecture is the development and integration of ancillary spaces. These most frequently represented additions to existing buildings, and generally consisted of chapels, lateral aisles, and narthexes which enveloped the building core on two or three sides. Such features appeared in the architectural mainstream ca. 1290 as additions to preexisting monuments, incorporated into a larger enveloping space, and by ca. 1310 had become integrated features of church design.[1] The trend seems to have been toward the development of an orderly envelope of space around the building core. The ambulatory was considered as a separate entity from the building core, and access between the two was minimal. Palaeologan annexed chapels and subsidiary spaces appear primarily in large urban centers: Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Arta, and Mistra; this suggests that the patronage was largely aristocratic.[2] Similar forms may have appeared in the thirteenth-century architecture of Nicaea, although our knowledge of that area is extremely limited.[3] In many instances, the function of these additions is unknown, but frequently it appears to have been funerary, a manifestation of Late Byzantine eschatology. The additions could take a variety of forms, ranging from a simple outer aisle, as at H. Vasileios at Arta, to a U-shaped envelope of aisles and chapels on two levels, high-lighted by domes, as at the Parigoritissa at Arta, to the irregular combinations of spaces seen at the Kariye.[4]

In Constantinople, the major contributions to ecclesiastical architecture of ca. 1280 to 1330 were primarily additions to preexisting churches and the result of specific, individual planning concerns, such as an aristocratic funeral chapel.[5] The small size of the construction may be indicative of the general economic decline of the state. Furthermore, a great number of churches were already in existence in the capital. The first major building project following the end of the Latin Occupation was undertaken by the dowager Empress Theodora at the Lips Monastery, which to a certain extent set a standard for the Palaeologan aristocracy to follow (Fig. 160). Between 1282 and 1303 a second church dedicated to H. Iōannēs Prodromos was joined to the existing church of the Theotokos.[6] The ambulatory-plan church was designed to function as the mausoleum for the empress, her mother, her daughter, and other family members, including her son, Emperor Andronicus II. Apparently at a slightly later date, an L-shaped outer aisle was added, equipped with numerous arcosolia for tombs. The awkward joint at the east end and the inner wall articulation suggest that the outer aisle was not planned from the outset. The ambulatory does not appear to be complete and breaks off abruptly at the north end.[7]

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[1] See S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica: King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture* (University Park, 1979), 75–76.

[2] Ibid. See also M. Rautman, *The Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki: A Study in Early Palaeologan Architecture*, diss. (Indiana University, 1984), 228–58.

[3] Two insecurely dated foundations—probably 12th- or 13th-century—show the utilization of ambulatory spaces in Nicaea, perhaps influenced by the Koimesis church; see S. Eyice, "İznik'de bir Bizans kilisesi," *TTKB* 13 (1949), 37–51; idem, "Monuments byzantins anatoliens," 314–15; and idem, "Die byzantinische Kirche," 152–67. For further comments on architecture under the Lascarids, see H. Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," *JÖB* 28 (1979), 261–96.

[4] The aisles of H. Vasileios include lateral portals leading into the naos; see A. K. Orlandos, "Ho Hagios Vasileios tēs Artēs," *Archeion tōn Byzantinōn mnemeiōn tēs Hellados* 2, no. 2 (1936), 115–30. For the Parigoritissa, see idem, *Hē Paregorētissa tēs Artēs* (Athens, 1963), esp. pls. 18, 44, 58.

[5] The lesser foundations of Palaeologan Constantinople are for the most part in a poor state of preservation and inadequately documented: Bogdan Saray, İsa Kapı Mescidi, Kasım Ağa Mescidi, Kefeli Mescidi, Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii (H. Andreas en tē Krisei), Manastir Mescidi, Sinan Paşa Mescidi, and the Theotokos Panagiotissa (Mougliotissa). Of these, only H. Andreas and the Mougliotissa have been identified, and neither has been systematically examined. For bibliography on these monuments, see Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, and S. Eyice, *Son devir Bizans mimarisi* (Istanbul, 1980); also Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*.

The Kariye and other aristocratic burial churches of the capital follow a similar pattern, enlarging an existing monument by the addition of chapels and aisles of apparently funerary purpose. The church of the Theotokos hē Pammakaristos received a number of additions at different periods (Figs. 164–165). A lateral aisle terminating in a small domed chapel was added on the north side as early as 1294; a parecclesion in the form of a miniature, cross-in-square church with a twin-domed, two-storied narthex was added on the south side ca. 1310 for the burial of Michael Glabas; finally, an outer narthex was added later in the fourteenth century, joining the disparate elements.[8] The church now known as Kilise Camii, frequently identified as St. Theodore, accumulated a similar assortment of ancillary elements, including a two-storied annex to the north, a small chapel and portico on the south side—these disappeared in the nineteenth century—and a belfry; all were joined by a broad, domed exonarthex across the west facade (Figs. 161, 163).[9] There appears to be some variance in construction; the joint between the north annex and exonarthex is awkward and suggests that the north annex was built first. The tiny chapel to the south may have been contemporary with the naos, although the portico was probably Palaeologan.[10] As these both have disappeared, there can be no certainty. The relationship of the belfry to the exonarthex has been obscured by the addition of the minaret base which masks the joint. Still, we may assume at least two building phases at the Kilise Camii.

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[6] Th. Macridy et al., "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari İsa Camii) at Istanbul," *DOP* 18 (1964), 251–315.

[7] Macridy, 267–69, believed the ambulatory to be a 15th-century addition; this is questioned by C. Mango in Macridy et al., "Monastery of Lips," 252. Later, Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 266, leaves the matter unexplained but includes plans showing two phases of construction, figs. 220 and 285. As Mango notes, the construction technique is identical in both units.

[8] Various dates have been proposed for these additions; see Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte"; C. Mango and E. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–63," *DOP* 18 (1964), 319–33; C. Mango in H. Belting, C. Mango, and D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1978), 3–42.

[9] H. Hallensleben, "Zu Annexbauten der Kilise Camii in Istanbul," *IM* 15 (1965), 208–17. The date of the additions proposed by Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 472–73, of ca. 1320 is acceptable. W. Grape, "Zum Stil der Mosaiken in der Kilise Camii in Istanbul," *Pantheon* 32 (1974), 3–13, proposes a date of ca. 1300 based on an analysis of the mosaics; this earlier date has been accepted by Belting in Belting et al., *Mosaics and Frescoes*, 97. Like the architecture, the mosaics are technically rather inferior to the other examples cited by Grape of the "heavy" or "cubist" style, and might be considered later reflections of that style.

[10] Hallensleben, "Zu Annexbauten," 208–17, believes the entire addition to be Palaeologan; but see Mango, "Constantinopolitana," 323–30. Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 386, erroneously states that the north annex postdates the exonarthex.

Examined as a group, these buildings share certain features with the Kariye. All were imperial or aristocratic foundations, so far as their identification is known. All represent additions to existing monuments. All are decidedly asymmetrical in plan, generally due to the addition of a large funeral church or chapel to one side, forming what may be termed a "church cluster," with little continuity between parts. Generally, the major units are arranged so that the apses are aligned at the east end. Planning concepts were small-scale, and symmetry was not a major concern. The irregular, church cluster arrangement of disparate units, joined by common narthexes, topped by a picturesque hodgepodge of domes, may reflect the ultimate form of the Comnenian funeral complex at the Pantokrator Monastery (Fig. 159). Ideologically, such a reflection may parallel the manner in which the early Palaeologi saw themselves as the heirs and descendants of the Comnenian dynasty.[11] In each architectural example, however, the overall complex appears to have been conceived and built as a series of separate units, a product of more than one building phase.

Among this group of monuments, the Kariye stands out in at least one respect: while the others represent growth by accretion, the additions to the Kariye are the result of a single undertaking. At the same time, a closer examination of the building indicates that while the individual components maintain their integrity, there has been an attempt to unify the parts: a system of lateral and longitudinal axes is emphasized in the plan; the enveloping spaces are organized into two L-shaped units; the same system of decorative articulation is maintained on the major facades; and the greater irregularities of the plan are disguised by the dynamic decorative treatment of the exterior. While the addition of a domed parecclesion precluded a symmetrical plan, a not unpleasant balance of picturesque visual elements was achieved. In this respect, the plan, the external articulation, and the decorative features were inextricably linked.

The organization of components is not entirely successful at the Kariye. However, this is the only church in the capital where such a unification was attempted. At the Kilise Camii, for example, built slightly later, the irregularities of the building are simply masked by the broad exonarthex facade, but no attempt was made to coordinate elements of the plan (Fig. 161). The appearance of unity is not evident on the other facades of the building.

The contemporary architecture of Thessaloniki is related to the planning principles of the capital, but the solutions are much more symmetrical. This results in part from the closer chronological and planning relationship between the building core and the enveloping spaces, and the consistent use of U-shaped ambulatories. These features appear in the three major monuments of this period, H. Panteleimon (1299–1306); the

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[11] Although Michael VIII, the founder of the dynasty, had successfully recaptured Constantinople, he was unpopular as both a usurper on the throne and a Catholic convert. He sought to use to his advantage his familial ties, however weak, with the dynasties of the past, incorporating their names into his own: he was known as Michael Ducas Angelus Comnenus Palaeologus, or simply Michael Comnenus; see D. J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West 1258–1282* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 17 and note 2. The construction at the Lips Monastery, built by Michael's widow, may thus be viewed as an architectural reflection of the contemporary political situation, as the early Palaeologi sought appropriate forms to bolster the family claim to the throne.

H. Apostoloi (before 1310–1312/14), and H. Aikaterini (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century).[12] While the core and the ambulatory were apparently the result of the same construction phase, it is clear that the two were viewed as separate entities. As at the Kariye, the enveloping spaces were constructed in one operation, and consist of porticoes, lateral aisles, and chapels. These are not totally symmetrical in arrangement. At the H. Apostoloi, for example, the south ambulatory chapel is accessible only from the bema, while the northern counterpart is completely open to the lateral aisle (Fig. 166). Yet the ambulatory components adhere rigorously to the symmetry of the plan; the chapels do not project beyond the width of the ambulatory wings, and the position of the domes is fixed symmetrically. Although little is known about the use of enveloping spaces in the Thessalonikan churches, apparently the functional requirements were not as complex as in Constantinople. Nowhere do we find the outsized, asymmetrically positioned funeral chapels prevalent among the aristocracy of the capital. Perhaps the development of ancillary spaces in Thessaloniki is more clearly related to monastic usage than aristocratic patronage, as C. Mango and M. Rautman have suggested.[13]

Examined in relation to the contemporary monuments of Constantinople and Thessaloniki, the Kariye emerges in a clearer light. The planning requirements of the capital seem to have demanded a variety of ancillary spaces; the desire for an impressive funerary chapel befitting the status of the builder seems to have been one of the most important considerations. At Thessaloniki such individual requirements were lacking, and simpler, symmetrical ambulatories were favored, constructed as a unified planning feature. The Kariye exhibits a qualitative difference from the other "cluster churches" of Constantinople, attempting to unify both formally and in terms of planning its disparate elements. In this respect, its plan may be linked to the Thessalonikan monuments. It may be worth noting that Theodore Metochites served as prime minister of Thessaloniki in 1303, before his work at the Chora.[14] In the final analysis, however, the highly innovative, although not entirely successful, planning solutions in evidence at the Kariye represent an architecture of bold experimentation with no true forerunners and no followers.

Twin-Domed Narthex

The twin-domed narthex has been recognized as a characteristic feature of Late Byzantine architecture, and has been linked to the expanding funerary functions of the

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[12] The major study of the Thessalonikan churches remains Ch. Diehl, M. le Tourneau, and H. Saladin, *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique* (Paris, 1918); but see more recent comments by Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, esp. 71–74 and pls. 103–8; also Rautman, *Church of the Holy Apostles*, 228–58. Dendrochronology has provided dates of 1280 and 1294 for wood beams used at H. Aikaterini and the H. Apostoloi, respectively; these dates represent the terminus post quem for the felling of the trees, and not necessarily a construction date for the churches; see P. I. Kuniholm and C. L. Striker, "Dendrochronological Investigations in the Aegean and Neighboring Regions, 1977–1982," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 10 (1983), 411–20.

[13] Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 227; see also Rautman, *Church of the Holy Apostles*, 249. For a possible funerary function for the ancillary spaces, see G. Velenis, "Hoi Hagioi Apostoloi tēs Thessalonikēs kai hē scholē tes Kōnstantinoupolēs," *JÖB* 32/4 (1981), 247–60. XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten 2/4.

[14] My thanks to M. Rautman for this suggestion; see Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 53.

narthex in the fourteenth century.[15] The asymmetrical inner narthex of the Kariye has been cited in this discussion. A reexamination of its unusual form in light of the history of the monument will, I believe, illuminate the emergence of this Palaeologan phenomenon.

A relationship between the esonarthex and its twelfth-century predecessor was hypothesized above in Chapter 1, while the numerous irregular features of this unit were analyzed in Chapter 2. In Metochites' rebuilding, it appears that earlier foundations were at least partially reused, although the esonarthex was extended to the north in order to align the north domed bay with the north annex (Figs. 10, 27). On the other hand, the placement of the south domed bay was restricted by the position of the belfry and the entrance to the parecclesion. Nevertheless, the south bay has been made considerably larger than the others of the inner narthex, and an understanding of the unique features of this bay is crucial to a proper interpretation of the architectural unit.

The unusual features of the south bay suggest that it had a special function (Fig. 113). While it is part of the esonarthex, it was given prominence by its architectural and decorative articulation. It was isolated and treated as a distinct unit. The bay is set off by projecting pilasters, and its larger size is emphasized in the expanded pattern of the floor design. At the same time, there is a distinct break from the rest of the narthex in the iconography of its mosaics. The decoration of the bay is, in fact, pivotal in the complex decorative cycles of the narthexes which recount the lives of the Virgin and Christ. The cycles begin, in effect, in the dome of the south bay, with the Old Testament ancestors of Christ, and end in the pendentives with the scenes of healing, completing a cycle of the Miracles of Christ, begun in the outer narthex (Fig. 107).[16] This differs from the rest of the inner narthex, which is devoted to the life of the Virgin.

The major feature of the bay is the monumental Deesis mosaic, which breaks entirely with the decorative patterns established elsewhere in the building (Figs. 110, 113). Except for framed icons, the mosaic decoration was relegated to the vaulting and the area above the cornice. In the south bay, the cornice drops to about a meter above the floor, and the mosaic covers almost the entire wall. The iconography of the mosaic is also unusual—John the Baptist is absent, focusing attention on Christ and the Virgin, to whom the church was dedicated—although a two-figure Deesis is not unknown.[17] At their feet, two tiny persons are represented: the sebastokrator Isaac Comnenus and Melanie the nun, probably Maria Palaeologina; their identities and the likelihood of them being former *ktētores* have already been discussed. Their presence indicates that the mosaic was intended to be not just a common funerary image but at the same time a commemorative panel. As Mango has noted, this is an image of the "ktetoric" class, with the Virgin interceding for the salvation of the benefactors of the church.[18] As we shall see, the Deesis mosaic is important in establishing the function of the south domed bay.

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[15] Ćurčić, "The Twin-Domed Narthex," 333–34; idem, *Gračanica*, 70–75.

[16] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 142–51.

[17] See Underwood, "Deisis Mosaic," 254–60. For the Deesis in general see C. Walter, "Two Notes on the Deēsis," *REB* 26 (1968), 311–36; idem, "Further Notes on the Deēsis," *REB* 28 (1970), 161–87. For the dual dedication, see Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 27–28. The dedication was probably divided between the two major units of the church, with the naos dedicated to Christ—the more important of the dedications—and the parecclesion to the Virgin; a similar division of dedications appeared at the Pammakaristos, where the parecclesion was dedicated to Christ; see Mouriki in Belting et al., *Mosaics and Frescoes*, 57.

The position of the south bay is also critical for the plan of the building. The decidedly oversized bay accounts for the majority of the irregularities in the fourteenth-century plan. The position of the mosaic did not allow for a third portal to the naos, to correspond with the north door. Thus an asymmetrical arrangement of entrances to the naos was created. The position and size of the bay also affect the major facades of the building. On the west facade, two of the exonarthex bays have been squeezed together between the entrance and the belfry to correspond to the width of the unit (Figs. 14, 18). On the south facade, the regular spacing of the bays has been disrupted so that a facade bay could be aligned with the width of the inner narthex (Figs. 15, 19). The portal, probably a major entrance to the building, and the window above correspond to an internal door and window on the same axis. Significantly, in the seventh bay of the exonarthex, between the esonarthex and the south facade, the openings are decidedly off-center; that unit is simply treated as if it did not exist—as if the south facade portal opened directly into the Deesis bay. In all aspects, the south bay of the inner narthex is unique and is given prominence by its architectural and decorative articulation. While a part of the inner narthex, it is treated as a distinct unit.

A clue to the understanding of this unusual architectural feature is found in the changing function of the narthex in late Byzantine times. While the narthex had frequently been the site of burials since Early Christian times, in the Middle Byzantine period it often served as an access space, leading to flanking chapels of a funerary or commemorative nature.[19] This situation can be seen at the church of Sv. Panteleimon at Nerezi of 1164 and at H. Geōrgios tōn Manganōn in Constantinople, ca. 1042–55.[20] In both examples, domed chapels were directly linked with the narthex. At the Kosmosoteira at Pherrai (1152), a more integrated solution was developed (Fig. 157). As we have seen, one of the isolated, domed compartments flanking the entrance was likely the site of Isaac Comnenus' sepulcher.[21]

In the Palaeologan period, death, burial, and the commemoration of the deceased were of prime concern to Byzantine thought.[22] At the same time, the narthex assumed an increased importance as the location for tombs. Both the inner and outer narthexes of the south church at the Lips Monastery in Constantinople were provided with arcosolia for the burials of members of the family of the foundress, the dowager Empress Theodora (Fig. 160).[23] The narthex of the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos was also provided with arcosolia (Fig. 164).[24] At the Kariye, similar arcosolia were improvised in the narthexes shortly after the completion of Metochites' additions. The early fourteenth-century typikon of the Serbian archbishop Nikodim specifies the narthex as the site of the weekly commemorative service in honor of the deceased. Although his text was based on the typikon of St. Sabas of Jerusalem, Nikodim's strong connections with Constantinople cannot be overlooked.[25] Thus the typikon may reflect practices that had been adopted in the capital.

Annexed chapels flanking the narthex disappeared in the early Palaeologan period, incorporated into the narthex as their functions became analogous, as Ćurčić has demonstrated.[26] The functional union of the narthex and its flanking chapels accounts for the appearance of the twin-domed narthex at this time. The domes, which formerly denoted separate architectural units, assumed instead a decorative or perhaps iconographic role, only vaguely echoing their former architectural significance.[27] Examples of this phenomenon abound, although the formal solutions vary. In its earliest appearance at Chilandari Monastery, rebuilt ca. 1303, a large narthex space was opened up, with domes positioned over the outermost corners of a six-bay narthex.[28] A variation of the solution appears at the H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki, built by Patriarch Niphon, where the domes flank the esonarthex, positioned above the lateral wings of the outer ambulatory (Fig. 166). Other variations of the theme occurred at H. Aikaterini in Thessaloniki and at the Kilise Camii in Constantinople; at the latter, a three-domed, porticoed exonarthex was added across the front of the building (Figs. 161–162).[29]

The irregular, twin-domed narthex of the Kariye is similar to these examples; however, several features relate it more closely to the earlier, Middle Byzantine development. First, the domes appear over the inner narthex rather than the outer shell of the building; second, the unusual features of the south bay isolate it as if it were a separate chapel. As has been discussed above, the major portion of the inner narthex surely reused foundations of the twelfth century. For this reason, it is tempting to reconstruct the twelfth-century Chora along the lines of Isaac Comnenus' other foundation, the Kosmosoteira, having domed chapels flanking the entrance; the surviving twelfth-century portions of the Kariye compare favorably with the Kosmosoteira.[30]

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[18] Mango, *Brazen House,* 138–39.

[19] Babić, *Chapelles annexes,* esp. 7–8, has determined through an examination of the literary sources and surviving iconographic programs that the basic functions of subsidiary chapels fall into three categories: commemoration of saints, of deceased monks, and of church founders. For the architectural implications, see Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance," 94–110.

[20] For the probable funerary function of the chapels at Sv. Panteleimon and the identification of the church as the mausoleum of Alexius Angelus-Comnenus, a minor member of the imperial family, see Babić, *Chapelles annexes,* 166. For H. Geōrgios see R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople* (Paris, 1939), 19–37 and pls. 4–5. For a recent attempt at restoration, see Ch. Bouras, "Typologikes Paratērēseis sto Katholiko tēs Monēs tōn Manganōn stēn Kōnstantinopolē," *Archaiologikon deltion* 31 (1976), 136–51. For the relationship of these buildings to the Nea Ekklesia and five-domed planning, see Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance," 103.

[21] See above, Chap. 1, note 62.

[22] See, for example, the elaborate specifications for burial at the Lips Monastery, Macridy et al., "Monastery of Lips," esp. 265–72. For the typikon see H. Delehaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921).

[23] Macridy et al., "Monastery of Lips," 265–72.

[24] Mango and Hawkins, "Report on Field Work," 319–33; Mango in Belting et al., *Mosaics and Frescoes,* 20.

[25] Babić, *Chapelles annexes,* 172; also Ćurčić, "Twin-Domed Narthex," 342–44; L. Mirković, "Ein Typikon des serbischen Erzbischofs Nikodemos: Vom Einfluss Konstantinopels auf den Gottesdienst der serbischen Kirche," *Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini,* II (Rome, 1953), 429–33.

[26] Ćurčić, "Twin-Domed Narthex," 342–44.

[27] Idem, *Gračanica,* 111–14; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture,* 277, views Palaeologan domes as "highlighting" for the interior.

[28] Ćurčić, "Twin-Domed Narthex," 336–37 and fig. 1a; this solution is echoed at H. Elias in Thessaloniki, Ćurčić, fig. 1b.

[29] For H. Aikaterini, see Diehl et al., *Monuments chrétiens,* pl. 53; for a revised plan, see Ćurčić, *Gračanica,* pl. 107. For Kilise Camii, see Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches,* figs. 84–87; and the revised plan, Fig. 161 of the present study. For other examples of the twin-domed narthex, see Ćurčić, "Twin-Domed Narthex," 334.

At the Kariye, it appears that Metochites purposely set aside the south bay of the inner narthex in the fourteenth-century rebuilding, conservatively following its earlier lines, as a founders' chapel, to commemorate the previous founders of the Chora. As we know from Isaac's typikon and other documents, the founders had certain titular rights in their monasteries, such as the right of burial in the church, having their portrait maintained, and having prayers said in their memory.[31] Metochites honored his predecessors with a sort of visual prayer, having them represented in the Deesis mosaic; they were no doubt remembered in the liturgies as well.

Metochites' reasons for doing this were numerous. He was religiously conservative—by necessity, as the son of an infamous enemy of the faith. "Salvation lies in safety," he often wrote.[32] He no doubt honored strictly the wishes of his predecessors. At the same time, he was politically pretentious. It is worth noting that the Chora was probably a *vasilikē monē* (imperial monastery), and that all its previous founders were members of the imperial family.[33] Having them represented in the Deesis would have served as a compliment to the reigning emperor, Andronicus II, showing his ancestor and relative before the imperial portrait of Christ; the emphasis on the theme of ancestry is extended in the dome above, where the bust of Christ is surrounded by his own ancestors (Fig. 107).[34] More important, the imperial *ktētores* were also Metochites' titular ancestors, and their representation reflects Metochites' desire to display his own prestige and imperial connections. In the mosaics of the Chora, he could be included in this illustrious company, the first nonimperial *ktētor* of a *vasilikē monē*. In the decorative program, the portrait of Metochites, shown presenting the church to Christ, is directly next to the Deesis, above the door to the naos (Frontispiece).

Taking into consideration the expanded funerary function of the narthex in Palaeologan times, the south bay of the inner narthex emerges as a multipurpose space serving both the funerary and commemorative functions of the narthex and the specific needs of a founders' chapel. The inner narthex of the Kariye may also be viewed as the intermediary state in the development of the Palaeologan, twin-domed narthex. The south half conservatively adheres to the Middle Byzantine form with an isolated, domed chapel. The northern half, on the other hand, includes a fully integrated, domed unit, characteristic of the Palaeologan development. Limited in part by the preexisting building and by the conservatism of the *ktētor*, the irregular form of the inner narthex ultimately represents the result of numerous planning and conceptual compromises in the fourteenth-century construction.

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[30] The Kosmosoteira narthex domes were also decorated with central medallions of busts of Christ and the Virgin surrounded by standing figures in the scallops of the dome; see Patterson (Ševčenko), *Byzantine Frescoes at Pherrai*, for numerous illustrations. More recently see Sinos, *Klosterkirche*, figs. 56–58.

[31] For the rights of the founder, see von Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*, 47 ff; more recently, J. P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), esp. 253–55.

[32] Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 53.

[33] Wendel, "Planudea," 406–10.

[34] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 49–59, for genealogy. For the relationship of the Palaeologan family to the Comneni, see Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus*, 17 and note 2.

Exonarthex-Portico Facade

The exonarthex of the Kariye Camii originally formed an open portico across the west facade of the building (Fig. 18). This was gradually closed off by the insertion of arcosolia, beginning shortly after the completion of Metochites' church. The portico facade has been recognized as a feature prevalent in Palaeologan architecture.[35] Examples can be cited from numerous locations and exhibit considerable variety in their plans and details, ranging from simple, porch-like arrangements along one or more sides of the building, as at the Taxiarchae in Thessaloniki, to broad, two-storied structures, as at Sv. Sofija in Ohrid.[36] Often a porticoed ambulatory topped by domes forms part of a complex enveloping space which surrounds the building on three sides, as at H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki; occasionally a belfry is incorporated into the porticoes, as at H. Sophia at Mistra.[37] The portico facade was not limited to ecclesiastical architecture. It also appears in palace architecture, as at the Tekfur Saray in Istanbul.[38] The degree of openness varies as well. In some cases, as at the Kariye, porticoed exonarthexes were treated almost as developed interior spaces. Ultimately, the appearance of the portico facade is related to the proliferation and integration of ancillary spaces in Palaeologan architecture.

The origin of the portico facade and its significance in Late Byzantine architecture remain to be determined. Mango has suggested that the form may have originated in the West, citing thirteenth-century Venetian palazzi such as the Fondaco dei Turchi as possible prototypes.[39] Certainly the Byzantines had only to look across the Golden Horn to Pera for examples of West European architecture. On the other hand, the portico was a ubiquitous architectural feature throughout the ancient and medieval world. The portico facade could have easily developed out of forms known in the Byzantine architectural vocabulary. Moreover, the similarity with Venetian palazzi may be limited to the Tekfur Saray, or at least to the rare examples of two-storied portico facades. In Palaeologan architecture, the Tekfur Saray is the only building in which the portico facade is a fully integrated component. In church architecture, the portico unit almost always appears as an addition to the existing building. At the least, it was conceived as a separate unit, as may be seen at the Kariye and the Kilise Camii in Istanbul and the H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki.[40] Rarely was the portico facade fully unified with the core of the building, although frequently, as at the Kariye and H. Apostoloi, a certain degree of integration was achieved.

The lack of integration, as well as the great variety of forms evident among the

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[35] Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 271 ff.

[36] For the Taxiarchae see A. Xyngopoulos, *Tesseres mikroi naoi tēs Thessalonikēs* (Thessaloniki, 1952), 5–24. For Sv. Sofija see Dj. Bošković and B. Tomovski, "L'architecture médiévale d'Ochride," *Recueil de travaux*, Musée nationale d'Ochride (Ohrid, 1961), 77–100.

[37] For the H. Apostoloi see Diehl et al., *Monuments chrétiens*, 187–200; and more recently Rautman, *Church of the Holy Apostles*. For H. Sophia at Mistra see G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra: Matériaux pour l'étude de l'architecture et de la peinture en Grèce aux XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1910), 31–33; Ch. Delvoye, "Mistra I: L'architecture," *CCARB* 11 (1964), 115–22.

[38] Mango, "Constantinopolitana," 330–36, with further references.

[39] Ibid., 330–36; idem, *Byzantine Architecture*, 275.

[40] For the H. Apostoloi see Rautman, *Church of the Holy Apostles*, 250–58; Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, 72–73, esp. note 15; Diehl et al., *Monuments chrétiens*, 189 ff.

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Palaeologan exonarthex porticoes, suggests that early fourteenth-century examples represent an experimental stage of development. Neither its form nor its function appears to have been well defined, and both were subject to regional variations, influenced by climate and local practices. The porticoes differ in degree of openness and position, although generally found along the west facade of the building. At Mistra, the porticoes are colonnaded, generally on two sides of the building, oriented to the panoramic view of the Vale of Sparta; these seem to have served as little more than porches and provided covered access to private chapels and separate building units. Often a belfry was incorporated into such a portico.[41] At Arta, most of the churches seem to have had similar, open porticoes on two or three sides, but the remains of these are fragmentary and their original forms are difficult to determine.[42] At Ohrid, a broad, monumental, two-storied portico was added to the facade of Sv. Sofija (1313–14), flanked by massive, domed units.[43] A similar, less massive, two-storied facade was added to the church of Bogorodica Ljeviška at Prizren (1306–7), incorporating a centrally positioned belfry.[44]

At Thessaloniki, the Late Byzantine churches exhibit a considerable number of variants. The Taxiarchae had an open, wooden-roofed portico on two sides, part of an ambulatory connected to the chapels flanking the bema.[45] The major churches of the period, the H. Apostoloi, H. Aikaterini, and H. Panteleimon, were enveloped by well-defined, vaulted ambulatory spaces that included portico facades along one or more sides, formed by double or triple arcades, alternating with piers. All of these led to chapels flanking the bema. At the H. Apostoloi, however, the south chapel was only accessible from the bema.[46] The portico facade of H. Panteleimon seems to have extended to three sides of the building, opened by double and triple arcades and connected to chapels flanking the bema.[47] The recently reconstructed portico of H. Elias, built ca. 1360, surrounds only the *liti* (narthex) but provided the only access to the western two of the tiny chapels that flank the naos. The portico, like that at the Kariye, is constructed of piers, but at H. Elias they support arches of differing heights and widths.[48]

In Constantinople, portico facades also exhibit great variety. At the Kilise Camii the exonarthex was added to a preexisting building along with lateral annexes, and follows a form similar to the west facade of the H. Apostoloi and H. Aikaterini in Thessaloniki, with triple arcades flanking the entrance (Figs. 161–162, 166). A less substantial portico may also have existed on the south side, leading to an eastern chapel.[49] At the Kariye, smaller openings were set within larger facade arches, supported by piers of varying widths, with a belfry over the southwest corner (Figs. 2, 10, 14). Popular in the major urban centers of the fourteenth century, the Byzantine portico facade may also have had some influence on contemporary Ottoman architecture; a number of the fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century mosques of Bursa and Nicaea are fronted by similar porticoes.[50]

A clue to the origins of the Palaeologan portico facade is provided by the fine exonarthex of the Byzantine church known as Fatih Camii at Enez. The church, now in ruins, should be dated to the twelfth century.[51] The exonarthex is not bonded to the main body of the church, but is of identical construction technique and exhibits numerous similar decorative details. The lack of bonding may be explained by the differences in the mass of the two units. Lighter, more open in character than the rest of the building, there is no indication that the exonarthex was ever vaulted, unlike the main body of the church which sustained rather heavy vaulting. Probably covered by a wooden roof instead, its lighter construction would have settled differently than the massive main portion of the building. Thus the lack of bonding might best be explained as a practical consideration on the part of the builders.[52]

The outer narthex of Enez is usually grouped with the portico facades of the fourteenth century. However, several important factors distinguish it from the later examples. It was not vaulted. It was not integrated into the main body of the church. It was neither formally nor presumably functionally a part of the church proper, but simply a porch attached to the front of the building. Its orientation is toward the exterior rather than the interior. In most Palaeologan examples, the situation is the opposite—or at least there is a certain ambivalence in the relationship of the exonarthex space to the interior and exterior. In addition, although the evidence is somewhat limited, similar porch forms are known from the Middle Byzantine period. A short review indicates that the Enez portico is not without precedent.

The Lavra Katholikon on Mount Athos, from the end of the tenth century, had a porch of five bays, supported by eight columns. The porch disappeared in the nineteenth century, but enough evidence has been recorded to reconstruct its original disposition.[53] More important, the foundations for a more substantial, western porch were excavated at Yılınca Bayır, near Libyssa (Diliskelesi) in Bithynia. This appears to have been very close in plan to the Enez portico, similarly alternating piers and columns.[54] Coin finds at the site suggest a date of the twelfth century or earlier, and the identification as the Monastery of the Niketiati may indicate a date as early as the ninth century.[55]

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[41] A sound study of the churches of Mistra is lacking. For illustrations see Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra;* and S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* (Paris, 1970); for the architecture, see Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Genesis," 105–18.

[42] For the architecture of Arta see P. L. Vocotopoulos, "Arta," in *Alte Kirchen und Kloster Griechenlands*, ed. E. Melas (Cologne, 1972), 135–61; also D. I. Pallas, "Epiros," *RBK*, II, 258–83. The Parigoritissa, the Vlacherna, H. Theodora, and H. Nikolaos tēs Rhodias had porticoes; only a portion of that at H. Theodora survives; it is vaulted, while the naos is not. Responds and foundations survive at the other churches, indicating the position of the porticoes.

[43] Bošković and Tomovski, "Architecture médiévale," 76 ff.

[44] On the construction phases of Bogorodica Ljeviška, see S. Ćurčić, review of *Bogorodica Ljeviška* by D. Panić and G. Babić, in *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977), 633; also S. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška* (Belgrade, 1963); and D. Panić and G. Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška* (Belgrade, 1975), for numerous illustrations.

[45] Xyngopoulos, *Tesseres mikroi naoi,* 5–24.

[46] As above, note 40. See also Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture,* 453–58; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture,* 277–81.

[47] Diehl et al., *Monuments chrétiens,* 167 ff and pls. 54–57; the church was built for the Perivleptos Monastery by Metropolitan Iakovos between 1296 and 1315; see G. I. Theocharides, "Ho Matthaios Vlastarēs kai hē monē tou Kyr-Isaak en Thessalonikē," *Byzantion* 40 (1971), esp. 454–59.

[48] For the reconstruction of H. Elias, see S. Pelikanides, "Byzantine Monuments in Greek Macedonia: Research Work and Restoration 1912–1962," *Balkan Studies* 3 (1962), 463; for a plan, see Ćurčić, "Twin-Domed Narthex," fig. 1b.

[49] Hallensleben, "Zu Annexbauten," 208–17. The annex survived into the 19th century when it was recorded by Texier and others; see Mango, "Constantinopolitana," 323–30.

[50] As noted by Mango, "Constantinopolitana," 334. Among numerous examples in Bursa, the mosque of Murad I in Çekirge, dated 1366–85; see A. Gabriel, *Une capitale turque: Brousse, Bursa* (Paris, 1958), 59 ff, pl. 21.

[51] For a fuller discussion of the 12th-century date, see Ousterhout, "Byzantine Church," 261–80; also S. Eyice, "Trakya'da Bizans devrine ait eserler," 351–54; idem, "Les monuments byzantins de la Thrace turque," *CCARB* 18 (1971), 303–6; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 275.

[52] Ousterhout, "Byzantine Church," passim.

Several of the Middle Byzantine exonarthexes appeared as additions to preexisting buildings. Perhaps our best surviving example is the Kapnikarea in Athens, dated 1060–70, where the oddly gabled exonarthex is part of a second phase of construction.[56] The Katholikon of Hosios Loukas also had an exonarthex, unfortunately destroyed in the nineteenth century.[57] Apparently an addition of the twelfth century, it is somewhat awkwardly joined to the building. The Blachernae at Elis received a two-storied exonarthex shortly after the Latin conquest of Greece in 1205; its lower story is completely open, the columns are spolia, and neither level is vaulted.[58]

While the evidence is limited, we may nevertheless conclude that portico facades similar to that at Enez did appear in the Middle Byzantine period. It may well be that such porch forms were more common than we now realize. In Constantinople most churches were enlarged with new outer narthexes in the Palaeologan period, destroying earlier evidence. Many of the early porches may have been constructed of ephemeral materials which have not survived, or they may have been plundered later for their columns. It is tempting to view the portico at Enez and other similar examples as the predecessors of the integrated spatial unit characteristic of the Palaeologan period. In any case, it is not necessary to look to Western Europe for sources.

At the same time, the formalization and attempted integration of the portico facade in Palaeologan architecture indicate a new importance and most likely new functional associations that necessitated a redefinition of the architectural form. This may be related to two characteristic developments of the period. The first consideration relates to a new concern in architectural planning: the development of ancillary spaces, the multiplication and profusion of annexed chapels, lateral galleries, and narthexes in the Late Byzantine period. The exonarthex-portico facade fits into this development. The unit not only provides access to auxiliary chambers, but may also have taken on liturgical functions as well. It is noteworthy that many churches acquired exonarthexes which were closed units, without an open facade. They seem to have served a similar function: to provide access to the subsidiary chapels and, frequently, to accommodate burials, as at the Lips Monastery in Constantinople. The second consideration is formal: the addition of arcades and porticoes may be associated with an increased emphasis on the exterior of the building in Late Byzantine architecture. Like patterned brickwork and applied architectonic decoration, the porticoes need bear little relationship to the internal structural system and could be applied to enliven the exterior and to increase the picturesque quality of the building. Thus a purely aesthetic motivation should not be discounted.

In this respect, what is striking at the Kariye is a certain ambivalence toward the definition and integration of the exonarthex. Was it designed as an open, external porch or a functional, internal unit? While the arches of the west facade were originally left open, closed only by low parapet slabs, the arched openings were decreased in size and the unit was closed off at either end. The exonarthex turned a corner on the south side and blended almost without significant break into the interior space of the parecclesion. In addition, there is no significant difference between the decoration of the outer and inner narthexes; the iconographic programs of the vaults were merged, and both units were revetted with marble. The same ambivalence may be seen in the ambulatories of the H. Apostoloi and H. Aikaterini in Thessaloniki, where open and closed spaces blend together without a significant break.

The form of closure for the facade arcade is also an area of question, but the lack of concrete archeological evidence will leave the matter in doubt. A number of arcades that were originally open were later closed off, either by filling the arches with glazing or curtain walls, perhaps for climatic reasons or perhaps as the unit acquired a new function. At the Kariye, we know that the process of closure occurred gradually, but purposefully, beginning perhaps within a decade of Metochites' construction. Curtain walls were added to the arches to form tomb arcosolia.[59] The alteration of the facade transformed the exonarthex into an extension of the parecclesion, forming an L-shaped unit similar in form and identical in function to the ambulatory of H. Iōannēs at the Lips Monastery (Fig. 160). A similar, enclosed ambulatory, also used for burials, was added at the Pammakaristos at a later date (Fig. 164).[60]

In its closed form, the exonarthex of the Chora is not conceptually different from the Lips ambulatory, but the two appear to have had different origins. The Lips ambulatory seems to have developed out of an expansion of the ambulatory-plan church, like the south church at the Lips Monastery or the main church of the Pammakaristos in Istanbul, in which the central, domed unit was surrounded by an ambulatory to accommodate burials.[61] On the other hand, the Kariye exonarthex developed from the formalization of an ephemeral architectural form. In the final analysis, however, the result is the same. In the process of creating functional ancillary spaces, Late Byzantine builders seem to have borrowed from a variety of sources and utilized a variable system of components. The exonarthex could be open or closed, or a mixture of both, and extend around one, two, or three sides of the building. In addition, it could be combined with other forms, such as domes or belfries, resulting in any number of formal solutions, suiting, it would seem, a variety of functional requirements. The portico facade of the Kariye may then be viewed as one of a number of innovative solutions representative of a period of architectural experimentation.

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[53] G. Millet, "Recherches au Mt.-Athos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 29 (1905), 88 ff, and figs. 5, 9, 10.

[54] As noted by P. L. Vocotopoulos, "The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture during the Middle and Late Byzantine Periods," *JÖB* 31/2 (1981), 563 note 48. See also A. M. Mansel, "Zur Lage des Hannibalgrabes," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1972), 272–74 and fig. 15.

[55] Mansel, "Zur Lage des Hannibalgrabes," 272–74; also Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance," 99 and fig. 7.

[56] A. H. S. Megaw, "The Chronology of Some Middle Byzantine Churches," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 32 (1931–32), 90–130, esp. 107, 188, for dating. See also Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 414.

[57] L. P. Bouras, "Ho exonarthēkas tou Katholikou tou Hosiou Louka Phokidos," *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias* 6 (1970–72), 13–28.

[58] A. Bon, *La Morée franque* (Paris, 1969), 561–74. Two examples normally discussed in relationship to Middle Byzantine architecture are probably later. The church of Zōodochos Pēgē near Samari is fronted by an open portico, topped by a belfry; C. von Scheven-Christians, *Die Kirche der Zōodochos Pēgē bei Samari in Messenien*, diss. (Bonn, 1979), 97–98, dates it to the 13th century. The triple-domed exonarthex of Nea Moni on Chios was also fronted by a portico facade, an addition to the 11th-century naos. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios*, 111–22, dates it to the later 11th century. R. Ousterhout, review of Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios*, in *JSAH* 42 (1983), 298–99, proposes a 13th-century date based on masonry similarities with Lascarid architecture and formal similarities with the Kilise Camii.

[59] Underwood, "Notes," *DOP* 12 (1958), 278–82; idem, "Notes," *DOP* 13 (1959), 216–22; idem, *Kariye Djami*, I, 286–87.

[60] Mango in Belting et al., *Mosaics and Frescoes*, 3–10.

Belfry

The archeological evidence presented above in Chapter 2 indicates that a belfry was positioned over the southwest bay of the exonarthex in the Palaeologan construction and was accessible by means of a spiral staircase within the thickness of the south wall. The tower has been replaced by the present minaret, and little survives to indicate the original form of its upper levels (Figs. 13, 130). Most Byzantine belfries disappeared with the Turkish restrictions on the use of bells and the conversion of churches to mosques.[62] The other belfries of Constantinople—at Kilise Camii, the Pammakaristos, and H. Sophia—seem to have suffered the same fate.[63] Although no record of the Kariye belfry survives, a few suggestions can be offered as to its form. It is likely that it was of considerable size and that it covered the entire corner bay of the building. The original arches in the corresponding bay of the exonarthex were originally given a double thickness. This evidently proved insufficient. Faced with the threat of collapse, these arches were further reinforced, probably within a few decades of the original construction (Fig. 116).

The extra thickness of wall on the south side of the belfry seems not to have related directly to the structure of the tower (Fig. 130). It housed the stairs that provided access to the upper levels. While such a feature does not appear on any other surviving belfry, most of these were connected to the gallery of the church, and thus a separate staircase would not have been necessary. Such was the case with two of our best-surviving belfries, at Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren (1307–9) and the Pantanassa at Mistra (1428).[64] At H. Sophia and the Hodegitria at Mistra a spiral staircase was centrally positioned in the bell tower.[65] At the Pammakaristos in Istanbul, a spiral staircase is to be found enclosed in the thickness of the wall, in what has been interpreted as the base of the belfry (Fig. 164).[66] At the Kariye, the stair projection probably only led to the second level and did not rise the full height of the tower; the uppermost level would have been reserved for the bells. Like the examples cited above, the Kariye belfry was probably three stories tall and domed. The decoration of the tower undoubtedly fit with the lively exterior of the building, but its exact nature must remain uncertain. In the reconstruction, the Prizren belfry has been used as a model (Figs. 18–19).

The belfry was a relatively new addition to the Byzantine architectural vocabulary in the Palaeologan era. The Byzantine church had used a *semantrōn* to call the faithful to prayer rather than bells, although the *semantrōn* was occasionally placed in a tower, as an eleventh-century inscription from Lavra indicates.[67] Emperor Michael III had been given a bell as a gift from the Doge of Venice in 865, but this seems to have been regarded as a curiosity and was not put to liturgical use.[68] The use of bells and the construction of monumental, attached belfries seems to have been introduced from the West during the Latin Occupation of the thirteenth century. In the year 1200 Antonius of Novgorod related that there was no bell at H. Sophia in Constantinople and that the faithful were called to prayer by a portable *semantrōn*.[69] By the time of Andronicus II (1282–1328), however, Pachymeres wrote that bells were used for the call to service. While most of the Latin religious customs were abandoned with the restoration of the empire, bells and belfries seem instead to have gained in popularity. The major constructions of Palaeologan Constantinople included attached belfries, and H. Sophia also acquired one in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

Like the portico facade, the belfry was a variable element of design that added to the picturesque character of the building. Several arrangements were possible in relating the belfry to the church proper: it could be axially positioned, projecting forward from the church facade, as Byzantine porches occasionally did before this time; it could be placed to one side of the west facade, connected with porticoes; or it could be united with the church proper and positioned above the narthex.[70] Reflections of these solutions may be seen in the design and position of the Kariye belfry.

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[61] S. Eyice, "Un type architectural peu connu de l'époque des Paléologues à Byzance," *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 1 (1959), 223 ff, discusses the building type, but incorrectly dates the core of the Pammakaristos to the Palaeologan era; this was corrected by Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte," 140–44, who supports an 11th-century date; Mango and Hawkins, "Report on Field Work," 319–33, propose a more convincing 12th-century date. See also Ćurčić, *Gračanica,* 80–81.

[62] For the Turkish attitude toward bells, see L. Allatius, *The Newer Temples of the Greeks,* trans. A. Cutler (University Park, 1969), 5; also Ćurčić, *Gračanica,* 23 and note 54.

[63] For Kilise Camii see Hallensleben, "Zu Annexbauten," 208–17; for the Pammakaristos see idem, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte," 186 ff; and Mango in Belting et al., *Mosaics and Frescoes,* 24. For H. Sophia see Swift, *Hagia Sophia,* 86–88. It seems likely that the Lips Monastery would have acquired a belfry as well, probably rising above the 10th-century stair tower and visually counterbalancing the asymmetrical narthex dome of H. Iōannēs; see Macridy et al., "Monastery of Lips," pls. 5, 9, for plans. H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki may also have been fronted by a belfry; see Velenis, "Hagioi Apostoloi," 247–60.

[64] As above, note 44. For the Pantanassa see Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra,* pls. 35–37.

[65] Ibid., pls. 23, 24, 31, 33.

[66] Mango in Belting et al., *Mosaics and Frescoes,* 24.

[67] Millet, "Recherches au Mt.-Athos," 89.

[68] Swift, *Hagia Sophia,* 86; A. M. Schneider, "Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul," *Istanbuler Forschungen* 12 (1941), 34.

[69] G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1916), 25–36.

[70] For porches see, for example, the Theotokos of Lips in Istanbul and the church at Dereağzı: A. H. S. Megaw, "The Original Form of the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips," *DOP* 18 (1964), 294; J. Morganstern, *The Byzantine Church at Dereağzı and Its Decoration,* IM Beiheft 29 (Tübingen, 1983), 31–32. For a brief, typological analysis of Byzantine belfries, see H. Hallensleben, "Byzantinische Kirchtürme," *Kunstchronik* 10 (1966), 309–11. A more general discussion is given by Ch. Barla, *Morphē kai exelixis tōn byzantinōn Kōdōnostasiōn* (Athens, 1959).

A significant example of an axially positioned belfry, projecting forward from the west facade, appeared at H. Sophia in Constantinople, presumably added during the Latin Occupation. It survived into the seventeenth century when it was recorded by A. G. Grelot and described by early visitors.[71] Although dwarfed by the great dome, this belfry was probably the largest to have been constructed in the city. The lowest level is unfortunately not visible in any of the drawings, but the tower was apparently three-storied and opened by arched windows in the upper two levels, somewhat similar to the tower of Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren. Positioned on axis, the belfry may have been opened in its lowest level, although this is not certain. Combined with the construction of the flying buttresses of the west facade, the entire addition dates to either the thirteenth century or to the recorded 1317 restoration.[72] The position and form of the H. Sophia belfry would have exerted considerable influence. A similar solution was found at the Pammakaristos, with the belfry positioned on axis in front of the west facade (Fig. 164). Only the lower portion survives, incorporated into an ambulatory, but the belfry is represented in older illustrations.[73]

This position seems to have been quite common, perhaps replacing or expanding upon the Byzantine porch; the type was probably found at the Theotokos of Lips (907).[74] This is seen in a pure form at H. Geōrgios at Omorphoklissia of the late thirteenth century, where an axial, projecting belfry forms a porch over the western entrance; the lowest level of the three-storied tower closely corresponds in size and form to the transept porches.[75] A similar situation may have been found at H. Vasileios at Arta, also of the thirteenth century, although the belfry has disappeared.[76] The attenuated tower of Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren probably also projected forward from the facade originally, but was incorporated into the two-storied portico shortly after construction.[77] Like the present form of Bogorodica Ljeviška, the axial belfry could also be incorporated into a portico, as at the Zōodochos Pēgē at Samari.[78]

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[71] Swift, *Hagia Sophia,* 86 ff, including illustrations after Grelot; for originals, see A. G. Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople* (Paris, 1860), illustrations opposite pp. 87, 109, 127, 143.

[72] According to Grelot, *Relation nouvelle,* pl. opposite p. 109, the belfry was closed in its lowest level. Schneider, "Grabung im Westhof," 34–36, claims that the buttresses were the result of the 1317 renovation, which would make them contemporaneous with the Kariye buttress. It is uncertain whether the belfry was constructed of wood or masonry, as no significant foundations were discovered in Schneider's excavations. Schneider, 35–36, believes the belfry to have been constructed later, of wood and Turkish; Grelot's plan, however, suggests a masonry structure, and the form of the tower is certainly not Turkish. For Romanesque examples of a centrally positioned tower over the entrance to a church, probably derived from the *Westwerk,* see K. J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800–1200* (Baltimore, 1959), esp. pls. 2a, 3b, 15, 89a, 92, 126a.

[73] Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte," 186 ff, seems to consider this Turkish; but see Mango in Belting et al., *Mosaics and Frescoes,* 24–25 and fig. A. The belfry is visible in older illustrations, although schematically rendered and ambiguously positioned in relationship to the church; see Belting et al., pl. 144.

[74] Megaw, "Original Form," 295.

[75] E. Stikas, "Une église des Paléologues aux environs de Castoria," *BZ* 51 (1958), 100–112, figs. A–D, 1–2.

[76] Hallensleben, "Byzantinische Kirchtürme," 310.

[77] Ćurčić, review of *Bogorodica Ljeviška,* 633.

[78] Scheven-Christians, *Die Kirche der Zōodochos Pēgē,* 87–98.

A second arrangement of the belfry is seen characteristically in the churches of Mistra: the bell tower is placed at a corner of the west facade and is usually joined with porticoes. At H. Sophia, from the second half of the fourteenth century, the belfry stood free at the northwest corner, but was connected to the church by porticoes. At the Hodegitria (1310–22), the belfry was independent but set against the building at the southwest corner, connected to the west portico, a position analogous with the Kariye. At the Pantanassa (1428), the belfry forms an addition to the narthex, and its upper level is accessible from the tribune. Open in its lower level, the belfry is united with the south and west arcades.[79] Like the portico facade, the belfry appears at Mistra as another element to enhance the picturesque exterior. The ruined church of the Pantanassa near Philippias, from the end of the thirteenth century, also featured a belfry in the southwest corner, connected to the building by porticoes.[80] The Kilise Camii in Istanbul had a belfry analogous in position to H. Sophia at Mistra. Only the ground floor of the Kilise bell tower remains. Connected by a barrel-vaulted passage to the narthex, it was originally positioned between the west portico facade, to which it was rather awkwardly joined, and a less substantial portico along the south facade which no longer survives (Fig. 161).[81]

A third common position for the belfry is fully integrated into the core of the church, placed over the narthex. In this arrangement the belfry is usually two-storied. The earliest example in the Balkans is the belfry over the narthex of the Theotokos church at Stanimaka, from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. While the upper portion differs in both plan and construction technique from the lower level, it is apparently part of the original construction.[82] This became the standard arrangement for Balkan belfries and may have had funeral connotations. Later examples were found at Sv. Dimitrije at Veles; the churches of the Pantokrator, Sv. Mikhail i Gavrail, Sv. Paraskeva, and Sv. Ivan Aliturgetos at Mesemvria (Nesebar); and later Serbian churches, such as Lazarica.[83] In the integrated plan, most characteristically, the belfry is nearly the same width as the naos, which is usually single-aisled. Thus, in the superstructure, the belfry became a major design consideration, counterbalancing the dome of the naos.

The belfry of the Kariye Camii blends various aspects of these schemes regarding the placement of the tower. Rather than being oriented on the main axis of the church, the Kariye belfry is positioned to the south and combined with the portico facade. The articulation of the surviving lower wall surface indicates an attempt to formally integrate the two units. At the same time, the belfry was positioned on the minor axis of the church, aligned with the parecclesion. As has been noted, the entire southern aisle may be viewed as a separate unit, as a domed, single-aisled church preceded by a belfry on axis. As such it compares favorably with Stanimaka and several of the Mesemvria churches, although considerably elongated in form. In this case, the bell tower precedes the "narthex" of the parecclesion and is positioned over the arcaded porch in front of the unit, comparable to the belfry of Omorphoklissia or Prizren.

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[79] Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra,* pls. 23–27, 31, 33.

[80] P. L. Vocotopoulos, "Anaskaphē tou Katholikou tēs Monēs Pantanassēs Philippiados," *Archaiologikē Hetaireia en Athēnais, Praktika,* pt. 1 (1977), 149–53, esp. fig. 1.

[81] Hallensleben, "Zu Annexbauten," 208–17, dates the portico to the Palaeologan era, although this is far from certain. At H. Sophia in Thessaloniki, the base of the minaret appears to have Byzantine construction, originally a belfry, joined to the northwest corner of the facade in an analogous position; see A. Bakalopulos, "Hē chronologēsis tou kōdōnostasiou tēs Hag. Sophias Thessalonikēs," *Byzantion* 21 (1951), 333–39.

[82] Dj. Bošković, "Notes sur les analogies entre l'architecture serbe et l'architecture bulgare au Moyen-Age," *Actes du IVe Congrès Internationale des Études Byzantines, Izviestiâ na Bulgarskoto Arkheologichesko Druzhestvo* 10 (1936), 66–68; also Hallensleben, "Byzantinische Kirchtürme," 311.

[83] Bošković, "Notes sur les analogies," 66–68; A. Rachénov, *Églises de Mesemvria* (Sofia, 1932), 26 ff.

The Kariye belfry thus shares tendencies of three different compositional solutions. However, it differs from all of these in the attempt to integrate the tower into the complex plan and facade elevation. The lowest level is an undifferentiated bay of the exonarthex, and the decorative features of the west facade continue across its base (Figs. 3, 18). The attempted integration was unfortunately not entirely successful. While the arched opening maintains the width of the other facade arches, the wall surfaces are noticeably wider; in addition, the scalloped dogtooth cornice was left unresolved as it encounters the solid mass of the belfry base. Nevertheless, the restitution of the belfry significantly alters the character of the building and its west facade (Fig. 18). Rather than appearing slightly out of symmetry, as the building does today, once the belfry is reinstated, it becomes apparent that symmetry was not a major concern in the planning and elevation. In addition, the belfry was an important element in the "free" composition of building units.

Parecclesion

The elongated form of the Kariye parecclesion is unusual in Byzantine architecture and appears as a composite of several planning concepts employed in Byzantine churches. In a very basic sense, the parecclesion represents the formal union of the single-bayed, domed, subsidiary chapel and the lateral aisle. These units may be seen in their more common arrangement in the north aisle of the Pammakaristos in Istanbul or the ambulatory wings of the H. Apostoloi and H. Aikaterini in Thessaloniki (Figs. 164, 166).[84] At the Kariye, however, the components have been unified into a single functional entity of considerable size—longer, in fact, than the adjacent naos (Fig. 10). The parecclesion appears like an independent church joined to the flank of the preexisting naos, identical in concept to the nearly contemporary funeral chapel attached to the south flank of the Pammakaristos; the latter is also treated as an independent unit, in this case a cross-in-square church. Such a "church cluster" concept achieved by attaching burial chapels may ultimately be linked to the imperial mausoleum churches at the Pantokrator and the Theotokos of Lips (Figs. 159–160). The elongated form of the Kariye parecclesion may also be related to the Pantokrator, echoing the twin-domed plan of the mausoleum church of St. Michael, the central chapel added to the ensemble ca. 1136.[85] The single-aisled plan of the parecclesion with the belfry on axis recalls, in addition, independent funeral chapels in the Balkans. These numerous possible relationships require further examination.

Subsidiary chapels flanking the sanctuary of the church were common features in Middle Byzantine architecture.[86] In Constantinople, such chapels are known to have existed at the Theotokos of Lips (907) and Kilise Camii (ca. 1100). Whether these lateral units were connected by outer "aisles" has not been resolved.[87] Ancillary chambers flanking the sanctuary seem to have declined in popularity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; however, following the Latin Occupation, these reappeared simultaneously with the twin-domed narthex and the disappearance of western lateral chapels, a phenomenon that has been discussed above. Annexed chapels reappeared ca. 1290 as additions to preexisting monuments and by ca. 1310 had become integrated features of church design.[88] Often the annexed chapel consisted of a single bay, usually domed, connected to a lateral aisle or portico that led to the narthex or west facade. Direct access to the naos or bema was minimal. Often funerary in function, the development and popularity of these chapels may be related to the increased importance of death, burial, and the commemoration of the dead in the Late Byzantine period.

The positioning of domed chapels flanking the sanctuary, counterbalancing a twin-domed narthex to the west, is also related to a new emphasis on the exterior appearance of the monument and the development of the Palaeologan five-domed church type. The arrangement of four subsidiary domes over the outer spatial envelope, diagonally positioned in relation to the naos dome, is seen most clearly in the churches of H. Apostoloi and H. Aikaterini in Thessaloniki and at Milutin's church at Gračanica, visually the most successful.[89] This arrangement of domes contrasts with the Kariye which, discounting the parecclesion dome, also has five domes positioned somewhat irregularly over the core of the building, the pastophoria, and inner narthex, echoing what is presumed to have been the Middle Byzantine five-domed plan of the building.

The organization of the Kariye parecclesion differs from these examples. Rather than positioned at the east end of the aisle, the dome is placed on the transverse asix of the building, aligned with the naos dome. A similar arrangement occurred at H. Panteleimon in Thessaloniki, although in this instance the dome preceded the chapel.[90] In addition, the entire ambulatory wing at the Kariye is unified as a single functional space, with the dome defining one of its two bays. The second bay is topped by a domical vault, not expressed externally, and the internal forms have been united in the cascading rhythm of the vaults which offer the visitor the panoramic sweep of the decoration as he enters (Fig. 81). Externally, the dome is not only aligned with the main dome, but in elevation its height was adjusted to that of the base of the naos dome (Fig. 15). While maintaining the plan of the ambulatory wing or funeral aisle, the Kariye parecclesion has reorganized and unified the spatial units of the aisle and placed them in a relationship to the naos.

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[84] Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte," 170–73, dates the north aisle of the Pammakaristos as early as 1294. For H. Aikaterini see Diehl et al., *Monuments chrétiens,* 179 ff and pls. 58–61, and above, note 12.

[85] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches,* 235 ff; also Mango, "Notes on Byzantine Monuments," 372–75. The order of construction proposed by Van Millingen for the Pantokrator churches was reversed by Megaw, "Notes," 355–64.

[86] See Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance," 94 ff.

[87] Megaw, "Original Form," 297–98. For Kilise Camii see Mango, "Constantinopolitana," 323–30, who views the south chapel as part of the original construction and the portico as a Palaeologan addition. For dating see Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture,* 386; for the problem of outer aisles, see Megaw, "Original Form," 297–98, and Brunov, "Zum Problem des Kreuzkuppelsystems, 245–61, both with extensive references.

[88] Ćurčić, *Gračanica,* 75–76.

[89] For a theoretical explanation of the development of the five-domed, pyramidal composition, see Ćurčić, *Gračanica,* 114–16 and pl. 102.

[90] Diehl et al., *Monuments chrétiens,* 167 ff. and pls. 54–57; and above, note 47. The domed ambulatory is illustrated in G. T. Rivoira, *Lombard Architecture* (London, 1910), fig. 278; and N. P. Kondakov, *Makedonii͡a: Arkheologicheskoe puteshestvie* (St. Petersburg, 1909), fig. 56.

A second concept evident in the planning of the Kariye parecclesion and its relationship to the naos is the "church cluster" arrangement for monastic funerary establishments. The term "parecclesion" suggests a dependent role for this architectural unit which was of considerable size, but the Kariye parecclesion has the form of a fully developed, functional church, and there was little direct access between this unit and the naos. The same phenomenon had occurred slightly earlier at the Pammakaristos, with the addition to the south flank of a miniature cross-in-square church, similarly built as a funeral chapel for the protostrator Michael Glabas (Figs. 164–165).[91] Originally there does not seem to have been direct access between the two units at the Pammakaristos; these were united only at a later date by the addition of an exonarthex. Viewed as separate entities, the two bore separate dedications.[92]

Monumental mausolea in the form of independent churches attached to preexisting structures seem to have arisen out of the pretensions of the powerful aristocracy in this period. In addition to Glabas and Metochites, the latter's rival, Nicephorus Choumnus, also had a mausoleum constructed, located at the monastery of the Theotokos Gorgoepēkōon, at the end of the thirteenth century.[93] To a certain degree, the planning solutions exhibited in the surviving aristocratic mausoleum churches resemble and probably imitated on a reduced scale the arrangement of the imperial mausoleum churches at the Pantokrator Monastery and the Lips Monastery in Constantinople (Figs. 159–160). The former ensemble had been constructed by the Comneni ca. 1118–36 as their dynastic burial complex. The monastery continued to function for imperial burials in the Palaeologan period: Empress Irene, the second wife of Andronicus II, was buried there in 1317.[94] At the Lips Monastery, the additions of Empress Theodora created an ensemble similar in form and function to the Pantokrator. Mango has suggested that the late thirteenth-century form of the Lips consciously imitated the form of the Pantokrator.[95]

Aristocratic church complexes share numerous features with the imperial cluster churches: units of varying sizes and functions were joined to create rows of impressive but disparate apses across the east facade; each complex is topped by a haphazard but picturesque arrangement of domes; the units are joined by a common narthex across the front. In addition, all of the foundations are monastic. This seems to have been a characteristically Constantinopolitan arrangement. The same sort of cluster appears after 1330 at Peć, enlarged during the reign of Stephan Dušan. It served a similar function—as the mausoleum of the Serbian archbishops—and is also likely to have followed the example of the Pantokrator.[96]

Considering the semi-independent nature of the Kariye parecclesion, as a part of a church cluster, several suggestions may be put forward concerning its form. The comparison with the Pantokrator is worth returning to in this respect. The elongated, two-domed plan—actually dome and domical vault—is relatively rare in Byzantine architecture. Among the few examples, the Kariye chapel compares most favorably with the central mausoleum church of St. Michael at the Pantokrator. The unusual, single-aisled, two-domed form of St. Michael is the product of an unusual site, sandwiched between two preexisting churches. The relationship of St. Michael with the south church of Christ Pantokrator is also similar to the layout at the Kariye: the two units are connected to the west by narthexes and through a doorway in the lateral wall. Metochites' imperial pretensions have already been noted; he may have consciously imitated the form and arrangement of the prime example of an imperial mausoleum within a monastic complex.

If we consider the Kariye parecclesion as an independent unit, including the belfry on axis, the form resembles several single-aisled churches with towered narthexes from the Balkans, as has been noted in reference to the belfry. The plan parallels the Theotokos church at Stanimaka and Sv. Mikhail i Gavrail and Sv. Paraskeva in Mesemvria, although slightly elongated in form. The closest analogy can be made with the church of the Virgin at Stanimaka, which served as the mortuary for the Asen family.[97]

Comparable examples also existed in Istanbul. The single-aisled, domed church known as Toklu Dede Mescidi, probably dating from the late eleventh or early twelfth century, was similar in form but more closely parallels the atrophied cross form of the naos.[98] The Palaeologan chapel known as the Bogdan Saray, now all but destroyed, was also single-aisled and domed. Like the church at Stanimaka, the central, domed bay was extended longitudinally by short, barrel-vaulted units. Oriented to the north, the Bogdan Saray may have served as a parecclesion or perhaps a chapel for a private residence. Walls continued to the east and south.[99] Van Millingen considered the vaulting of the chapel to be a later addition, as the dome was supported on corbels; this, however, was common in Palaeologan architecture, and similar vaulting solutions may be seen in the pastophoria of the Kariye.[100] Like the Kariye parecclesion, the Bogdan Saray terminated in a broad apse, close to the width of the chapel.

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[91] Mango in Belting et al., *Mosaics and Frescoes*, 11 ff.

[92] Mouriki, ibid., 57, notes that Christ is isolated in the apse of the parecclesion because the chapel was dedicated to him. For the construction of the exonarthex, see Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte," 74 ff; and Mango in Belting et al., 23 ff.

[93] V. Laurent, "Un fondation monastique de Nicéphore Choumnos," *REB* 12 (1954), 32–44. A. A. M. Bryer has suggested to me that this be identified with the Kilise Camii; however, the generally accepted date of the additions to the Kilise Camii, ca. 1320, would not allow this. But see above, note 9.

[94] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 227.

[95] Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 266; see also above, note 11.

[96] S. Ćurčić, "Church Architecture of the Serbo-Greek Empire (1346–1371)," *Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers* 5 (Washington, D.C., 1979), 37–38; A. Deroko, *Monumentalna i dekorativna arhitektura u sredjevkovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade, 1953), pl. 225.

[97] For the Nesebar churches see Rachénov, *Églises de Mesemvria*, 26 ff, 79 ff. For Stanimaka see D. Končev and S. Stoilov, "La forteresse d'Asên," *Byzantinoslavica* 22 (1961), 20–54; K. Mijatev, *Die mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien* (Sofia, 1974), 160–61.

[98] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 207–11; A. Pasadaios, "To pheron epōnymian Toklou Ibrahēm Dede Mescidi byzantinōn ktērion," *Archaiologikē ephēmeris* (1969), 80–124.

[99] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 280–87; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 36–39. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, I, iii, 442–43, identifies the Bogdan Saray with the House of Raoul visited by Stephan Gerlach.

When considered either independently or as part of a larger church, the Kariye parecclesion is not without precedent in Byzantine architecture. It is significant that it can be regarded in both ways. As a subsidiary chapel, it is related in plan and external articulation to the exonarthex and has the dome and apse positioned in relationship to the major church. Yet considered as a separate unit, the Kariye parecclesion is one of the finest examples of Palaeologan architecture—what R. Krautheimer calls architectural jewelry work—with its careful modulation of space and panoramic interior.[101] Its size and semi-independent nature emphasize the importance that this unit was accorded in the fourteenth-century construction; rather than occupying a subsidiary position, the parecclesion vies in importance with the naos and probably claimed half of the church's dual dedication. This, in turn, reflects the growing importance of funerary architecture, of burials and services in honor of the dead in the Late Byzantine period.

Northern Annex

The northern annex consists of two stories, connected by a staircase within the thickness of the north wall (Figs. 9, 13, 21–22). The lower level connects the inner narthex to the prothesis, while the upper level is accessible only from the stairway. The unusual, two-storied form is almost without parallel in Byzantine architecture. The closest example is the north annex of the Kilise Camii in Istanbul, with an upper level also accessible by means of a staircase set within the thickness of the wall (Fig. 161). Unfortunately this area at the Kilise Camii has been greatly altered, and its original form and function not properly examined.[102]

The initial function of the northern annex at the Kariye is uncertain. Underwood suggested that the lower passage, equipped with a row of niches in the north wall, may have served as the diaconicon, after access to the room south of the bema was blocked, and that the upper chamber may have been the *skevophylakion* or perhaps the library.[103] These suggestions are worth considering. In his descriptions of his contributions to the monastery, Metochites gives special emphasis to the liturgical furnishings—holy vessels and silken vestments—which he donated, as well as his famous collection of manuscripts.[104] In his reconstruction, the housing of these special items would certainly have been taken into consideration. Such items were traditionally kept in the diaconicon, and the northern annex, accessible from the bema through the prothesis, would seem the

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[100] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 280–87; Ćurčić, review of *Byzantine Churches* by Mathews, 281.

[101] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 471.

[102] Originally the Kilise annex was longer; its present east wall is a modern fabrication. In the surviving portion, details in construction and vaulting are quite different from the Kariye: the west bay is topped by a sail vault, and the east by a quadrant vault; along the south wall, the vaults spring from engaged columns. The once elegant entrance, with a doorframe set between columns of giallo antico, is similar to the parecclesion of the Kariye; see Figs. 151–52. Details of this portion of the building do not appear on any published plans.

[103] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 23.

[104] Ibid., 17; Treu, ed., *Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten*, 28–31.

logical place for their storage. However, other than the relationship to the bema and the niches, there is little to suggest a function.

That the upper chamber served as a library seems likely. The Chora's collection of manuscripts was one of the best in the capital and the source of great pride for Metochites who claimed, "If it were not for the risk of incurring God's wrath and appearing vulgar, I would have said that I did not know whether there was such a wealth of books, both in quantity and quality, in all the city's monasteries taken together."[105] Metochites could be especially pleased with this accomplishment: the collection appears to have been in a deteriorated state in the preceding generation, meriting complaints from Maximus Planudes, who had conducted a school in the Chora in the last decade of the thirteenth century.[106]

Metochites spent a good deal of time in the library, and it was certainly given a special place in the monastery. Exactly where manuscripts were kept in Byzantine monasteries is not certain. At any rate, the practice does not seem to have been uniform. Because most manuscripts would have been biblical, patristic, or liturgical texts, it is likely that they were kept somewhere within the church itself.[107] Planudes indicated that there was a separate reading room at the Chora for outsiders, although its location is not given.[108] In the Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos, it is recorded that St. Athanasius' library was above the narthex overlooking the naos.[109] The library at Vatopedi Monastery is in a side room in the upper level of the narthex.[110] In Byzantine churches, a chamber above the narthex is frequently identified as the library, but without certainty.[111] At the Chora, other planning considerations would have prevented a second level above the narthex, but the function of the north upper chamber was probably the same.

Like the lower chamber, the upper north annex preserves few clues as to its function. Books were generally kept in cupboards in order to lay them flat on shelves, as seen in numerous illustrations.[112] Thus no special architectural features would have been required which could help identify usage. Two features should be noted, however. The room is extremely well lit, at least on the eastern side, thanks to three windows of good size (Fig. 80). It is in an elevated position so that the surrounding monastic buildings would not have blocked the light. In addition, the low dome over the prothesis allows maximum exposure to the east window; a dome of any consequence would have reduced the exposure. The lighting, mostly indirect, is perfect for a library. Another window cut in the south wall, overlooks the naos. This would have allowed some visual and auditory connection with the services conducted below. Athanasius' library at the Lavra seems to have had a similar feature.[113] Likewise at the Chora, Metochites could pursue his scholarly endeavors in the library and at the same time hear the singing of the monks. At the monastery of H. Neophytos on Cyprus, the founder had an air channel between his study and the naos for the same purpose.[114] The numerous unusual features of the north annex suggest that its upper level was the repository for the monastic library.

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[105] Metochites, Logos 15; Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 80–81.

[106] See Planudes' letter to the protovestiarion Muzalon of ca. 1295: *Maximi Monachi Planudis Epistulae*, ed. Treu, 81–85.

[107] K. Wessel, "Bibliothek," *RBK*, I, 612–15, notes that manuscripts were generally kept in an adjoining room or building annexed to the naos, although there is little archeological evidence for this. The later Athonite libraries were kept in fortification towers where they were safer from fires, but this appears to be a late development; see K. Weitzmann, *Aus den Bibliotheken des Athos* (Hamburg, 1963), 11. Several small, centrally planned buildings in Istanbul have been identified as monastic libraries but without concrete evidence; see Wessel, 612–15.

[108] *Maximi Monachi Planudis Epistulae*, 81–85.

[109] Millet, "Recherches au Mt.-Athos," 72 ff; this part of the katholikon has since been altered.

[110] Weitzmann, *Aus den Bibliotheken*, 11.

[111] For a brief discussion of the basic purpose of galleries, see Ch. Delvoye, "Empore," *RBK*, II, 129–44. See also M. Šuput, "L'architecture de l'exonarthex de Péc," *Zbornik za likoven unmetnosti* 13 (1977), 45–70.

[112] H. Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," in *Dictionnaire d' archéologie chrétienne et du liturgie* (Paris, 1910), I, B, cols. 891–904, figs. 1556–57.

A few remarks should be added concerning the staircase leading to the upper level of the annex (Figs. 22, 78). The vaulted and enclosed form was rare in the Middle Byzantine period.[115] At the north church of Constantine Lips and at Dereağzı, separate stair towers were constructed flanking the narthex, but the stairs were probably constructed of wood.[116] Most staircases were probably external and of ephemeral materials. Enclosed, vaulted staircases became common in the Palaeologan period. The nearly contemporary staircase leading to the gallery of the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos is constructed in a similar manner (Fig. 164). Enclosed in the west wall, it is covered by a ramping barrel vault, but with a domical vault only over the upper landing.[117] The north annex of the Kilise Camii also included a flight of stairs in the thickness of the north wall; the construction is, however, much cruder, and the ramping covering is flat rather than vaulted, but both landings are topped by domical vaults (Fig. 161). Several Late Byzantine churches in Mesemvria and Serbia also included enclosed staircases, and these may be considered typical features of Late Byzantine architecture.[118] Their popularity at that time may be linked to the expanded importance of ancillary spaces in church planning and internal communication between the various units of the building.

Exterior Articulation

The attitude toward the articulation of facades in Palaeologan architecture, as exemplified by the Kariye Camii, was primarily decorative. By the end of the thirteenth century, the classical principles of Middle Byzantine facade articulation had been all but abandoned. Unlike the logical, architectonic approach seen in earlier monuments, facade elements of the Palaeologan era were generally divorced from the spatial and structural divisions of the interior. Nevertheless, the desire for enlivened and articulated surfaces sought tectonic solutions. Exterior wall surfaces were almost always defined by means of arcades, either open or blind. Three basic systems of arcading may be isolated: the simple arcade; the multitiered or "aqueduct" system; and the "triumphal arch," where a tripartite division is employed with the central arch taller than the flanking ones.[119] Of these, the first two are employed frequently on ancillary spaces, while the third appears almost exclusively on the external apse wall.[120] The fourteenth-century facades of the Kariye are on the ambulatory, and it is therefore the first two categories that shall concern us. The west and south facades fit into the category of simple arcade, while the north facade belongs to the multitiered category (Figs. 3, 5, 7, 14, 15, 17).

The simple arcade system, consisting in its basic form of piers supporting arches, could be used to articulate the facades of single-aisled churches or the ambulatory wings of buildings with more complex plans. When employed on single-aisled churches, the articulation usually bears no relation to the internal divisions and is purely decorative in function. This may be seen at Sv. Todor in Nesebar or İsa Kapı Mescidi in Istanbul, both perhaps from the late thirteenth century.[121] When arcading appears on ambulatory wings, however, there is often a much closer correspondence with the structural divisions of the ambulatory. A clear relationship between interior and exterior may be seen in the north annex of the Pammakaristos or in the lateral wings of the H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki, although in such instances the tectonic value of the arcade is minimal. The lateral arcades of Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren, on the other hand, only vaguely correspond with the vaulting divisions of the ambulatory.[122] The south facade of the Kariye also has little connection between the external articulation and the structural system. Thus it appears that the relationship of interior to exterior was rather loosely defined; these may correspond but were generally considered separate architectural problems. For this reason, elements placed on axis with respect to the facade divisions may be asymmetrical in the internal spatial unit. This occurs with the window in the north wall of the esonarthex and the south facade portal at the Kariye (Figs. 129, 147) and frequently elsewhere, for example, the north portal of Sv. Ivan Aliturgetos in Nesebar.[123]

The portico facade type, discussed above, also fits into the simple arcade grouping. In most instances, the piers or pilasters have been replaced by columns or an alternation of piers and columns. The common form, seen at the Kilise Camii in Istanbul, has the

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[113] Millet, "Recherches au Mt.-Athos," 72 ff.

[114] My thanks to E. Hawkins for bringing this to my attention. C. Mango and E. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings," *DOP* 20 (1966), 121–206, with further references.

[115] Diehl et al., *Monuments chrétiens*, pl. 50; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, pl. 126. Both illustrate the plan of Panagia Chalkeon in Thessaloniki with a vaulted staircase enclosed in the south wall; this did not exist, and access to the gallery is uncertain.

[116] Megaw, "Original Form," 294; Morganstern, *The Byzantine Church at Dereağzı*, 46–47, 56–57.

[117] No illustration of this has been published; for plan, see Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, fig. 50.

[118] The stairs to the gallery of Sv. Mikhail i Gavrail in Nesebar are enclosed in the west wall of the narthex and covered by a ramping barrel vault; Rachénov, *Églises de Mesemvria*, figs. 46, 49. Sv. Paraskeva and the Pantokrator have similarly vaulted and enclosed staircases, but these are entered from the exterior; Rachénov, figs. 20, 21, 38, 40. King Milutin's church at Gračanica had an enclosed staircase leading to the chamber above the narthex, also covered by a ramping barrel vault; Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, 97–99.

[119] S. Ćurčić, "Articulation of Church Facades during the First Half of the Fourteenth Century," in *L'art byzantin au début de XIVe siècle* (Belgrade, 1978), 17–27, esp. 19–22.

[120] An exception to this rule is Gračanica; see Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, 50 ff.

[121] Rachénov, *Églises de Mesemvria*, 99–101; M. Alpatov and N. Brunov, "Une nouvelle église de l'époque des Paléologues à Constantinople," *Échos d'Orient* 28 (1925), 3–14; more recently Y. Ötüken, *İsa Kapı Mescidi und Medresesi in Istanbul*, diss. (Bonn, 1974).

[122] Ćurčić, "Articulation of Church Facades," 19–20; also Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, pl. 109.

[123] Rachénov, *Églises de Mesemvria*, fig. 24.

central entrance flanked by triple arcades (Fig. 162). Similar facade openings are to be seen in the Palaeologan churches of Thessaloniki. At the H. Apostoloi, H. Aikaterini, and the Vlattadon, rather complex forms of double and triple arcades are employed in what was probably a local stylistic development.[124] While most of the examples of portico facades from the first half of the fourteenth century employ columns and maintain an open character, the west facade arcade of the Kariye is supported by piers of a complex form, enhanced by pilaster strips on the interior and by two-stepped responds with applied colonnettes on the exterior (Figs. 14, 18). Upon close examination, it is evident that the original system of facade openings actually bore little relation to the exterior articulation. As the floor level of the exonarthex is approximately 60 cm lower than the ground level, the facade has been raised accordingly (Fig. 123). The openings in each arch, relating directly to the interior, could not be raised. Thus the arches that top the windows and those that form the facade arcade are not concentric, and the relationship between interior and exterior has become confused. Interior and exterior string courses occur at different heights. To my knowledge, such a solution appears only at the Kariye, answering to a specific problem created by the site, but fits with the generally ambiguous relationship of interior space and facade during this period. At the H. Apostoloi, openings are similarly set within a larger system of arches, but in this case the larger arches conform to the height of the ambulatory vaults and the string courses occur at approximately the same level.[125]

In our discussion of the exonarthex, a certain ambivalence was noted in the definition of the space as interior or exterior, and the same may be noted in the treatment of the arcade. It is basically the same as the blind arcades of the Pammakaristos, the Theotokos of Lips, or the south facade of the Kariye, except for the large openings that appear within each arcaded wall surface. The form of the Kariye's west facade appears as a compromise between the open and closed facade forms, perhaps attempting to adapt the picturesque open portico to the climate of Constantinople where the closed ambulatory was, it seems, both more common and better suited.

Related to the separation of facade articulation from the internal structural system is the position of secondary domes in relationship to the facade divisions. At the Kariye, the units of the exonarthex and inner narthex are not aligned in plan, and consequently the positions of the domes of the esonarthex do not correspond to the facade arches (Figs. 10, 14). Even in churches where the domes have been moved to the outer spatial envelope, a lack of correspondence may still be evident. In the exonarthex of the Kilise Camii, only a portion of each triple arcade is topped by a dome (Fig. 161). The same occurs at the H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki, although the western domes have been set back to flank the inner narthex (Fig. 166). The triple arcades of the west facade have been separated somewhat incongruously to fit with the bay divisions.

At the Kariye, the system of stepped responds and colonnettes is continued on the closed, south facade; however, the arcading departs dramatically from the classical principles of facade articulation, representing a variation of the simple arcade system (Figs. 15, 19). In the east two bays, extra responds have been included which diminish the tectonic value of the articulation of the building core.[126] Still, the position of the windows and the niches in the pilasters varies from bay to bay. Similar variations in size and articulation of bays may be seen at the H. Apostoloi and in a complex, multilevel form on the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos (Fig. 165). The latter two are significant in relationship to the organization of facade components at the Kariye Camii.

Like the plan of the Kariye, facades of the building are also arranged according to a system of organizational axes. A strong axis is formed by the large, central arch topped by the parecclesion dome which, in turn, is aligned with the naos dome (Fig. 15). The facade bays to either side of this axis, however, are asymmetrical and undermine the sense of order. Another important axis centers on the door just to the east of the belfry, a major entrance to the building (Fig. 129). This facade bay is on axis with and is the same width as the exonarthex, and corresponds to the minor lateral axis of the building. The south esonarthex dome is also on the same alignment, although set back from the south facade. Although this bay relates to a lateral axis of the plan, it nevertheless throws off the organization of the south facade: the bay is an odd size and has recessed niches flanking the portal. The unit works well by itself but is not related to the other axis of the facade, disrupting the rhythm of articulation. A similar system is employed on the west facade: the central bay of the entrance, aligned with the naos dome, and the south bay of the belfry are given prominence and correspond to planning axes. On both facades, however, the axes are unrelated; to either side, the bays are asymmetrical; the axes are not related to each other nor adjusted to the whole.

A system of unrelated axes used to organize facade elements appears also in the Palaeologan churches of Thessaloniki. On the north and south facades of the H. Apostoloi, the divisions of the arcades are arranged so that two correspond with the ambulatory domes and a third is aligned with the lateral entrance, the lunette, and the dome of the naos. A semblance of order is created, but, by arranging the units in this manner, the arches vary considerably in width and lose contact with the organizing principle of the arcade system.[127] The north facade of H. Aikaterini follows a similar pattern with much the same effect, and the basic arcade system is almost completely obscured by the unrelated decorative features, organized around separate axes.[128] H. Panteleimon originally must have had a similar organization, with the major axis on each lateral facade defined by a triple arcade topped by an ambulatory dome, aligned with the naos dome.[129] This axial arrangement would have been quite similar to the south facade of the Kariye.

Perhaps closest to the organizational format of the south facade of the Kariye is the south facade of the nearly contemporaneous parecclesion of the Pammakaristos (Fig.

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[124] H. Panteleimon was probably similar; see Diehl et al., *Monuments chrétiens*, 167 ff, pls. 54–57. Xyngopoulos, *Tesseres mikroi naoi*, fig. 25 and pl. 3; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 302, 304.

[125] Diehl et al., *Monuments chrétiens*, pl. 64.

[126] It should be observed that the system of vaulting of the ambulatory of Lips springs incongruously from above the oddly positioned arcosolia, while relating to the external articulation; Macridy et al., "Monastery of Lips," pl. 5.

[127] Diehl et al., *Monuments chrétiens*, pls. 62–63; Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, pls. 103–6.

[128] Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, pls. 107–8.

[129] Diehl et al., *Monuments chrétiens*, pl. 54.

165). In this case, two vertical axes are carried through three levels of the facade, one aligned with the narthex domes, the other with the central dome of the parecclesion. The windows on axis are flanked symmetrically by small niches or roundels. Yet the two axes are not related to each other, and the space between is illogically filled by a window and an ogival arch. This creates on the upper level an incongruous row of round-headed niche, ogival arch, and decorative disc. While the axes relate to the basic structural divisions of the interior, any tectonic sense has vanished amid the panoply of decoration. Like the Kariye, the organization is on a small scale; each unit works well within itself but is not adjusted to the whole.[130]

The facade of the north annex of the Kariye offers an interesting contrast to the other facades of the building (Figs. 7, 17). Corresponding to the second category of facade articulation, the multitiered or so-called "aqueduct" system, the facade proves to be an exception to the rule.[131] In the standard system of multilevel facade definition, seen at Sv. Sofija in Ohrid, the Tekfur Saray in Istanbul, and numerous monuments of Nesebar, two characteristics emerge: arcades are on two or more levels with an upper row of arches smaller than the lower; and a lack of vertical correspondence is evident between levels.[132] Each level forms an independent system of arcading. This differs from the Middle Byzantine solution, seen on the west facade of Panagia Chalkeon in Thessaloniki, where the basic organization of the lower level is repeated in the upper. Although the pilasters of the ground floor are replaced by applied columns above, the equal measure of tectonic solidity are maintained on both levels, clearly reflecting the structural system of the interior.

The north facade of the Kariye reflects more closely the Middle Byzantine system: the upper arcade conforms to the widths of the lower arches. The two levels are broken only by the string course at the floor level of the upper story. The north facade may be regarded as an archaic holdover of the earlier solution but lacks the structural implications of the Middle Byzantine system.[133] The arcades of the exterior have little relation to the internal divisions: directly behind the wall is a staircase. On the upper level, however, the two eastern arches correspond in a general way to internal features. Around the corner, on the east face of the north annex, a more characteristically Palaeologan lack of vertical alignment is to be seen. The south facade of the church of the Virgin at Drenovo is similar to the north facade of the Kariye in its tectonic treatment of corresponding arcades on two levels. If a fourteenth-century date is correct, this may

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[130] Because of these and other similarities, it is likely that the early 14th-century additions to the Kariye and the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos were by the same builders. This system of vertical correspondence is distinctly absent from the monuments of Nesebar, which are otherwise often similar in detail; see below, note 132.

[131] Ćurčić, "Articulation of Church Facades," 20–22.

[132] At Nesebar, note particularly the Pantokrator, Sv. Mikhail i Gavrail, and Sv. Paraskeva; see Rachénov, *Églises de Mesemvria.* With regard to the Tekfur Saray, palace architecture may form a different category. Mango has suggested connections with Venetian palazzi, where a similar lack of vertical coordination is evident; see Mango, "Constantinopolitana," 334. The same may be seen in the ancient Near East, as, for example, at the palace at Ctesiphon; see G. Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival* (Oxford, 1977), 127; both may be derivative—or a misunderstanding—of Roman architecture.

[133] Ćurčić, "Articulation of Church Facades," 20–21 and note 18.

also be viewed as an archaism.[134] Some vertical coordination may be discerned on the north annex of the Kilise Camii, although the partial survival and heavily restored condition of this unit make it difficult to draw conclusions.[135] The arcades of the original west facade of the Pammakaristos parecclesion also seem to have been aligned vertically, but the lower part of this facade is now obscured by the exonarthex. The north facade of the Kariye contrasts dramatically with the nonstructural facades of the churches of Nesebar where no coordination of the zones of arcading occurs. At the Kariye and the major monuments of the capital, the underpinning of structural logic remains in evidence in the facade articulation.

Articulation by means of pilaster strips supporting wall arches was common in Byzantine architectural repertory. Frequently an elaborate system of supports was employed, emphasizing the plasticity of the wall surface. At the Kariye, stepped responds with applied colonnettes appear on the major facades to the west and south as well as on the apse of the parecclesion, and stepped pilasters continue on the north facade, although without the colonnettes. This difference in emphasis was probably due to the south facade receiving greater exposure, and a nearly identical solution is to be seen at the H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki, where the west and south facades are articulated by stepped responds and half columns, while the north facade has only simple pilasters. Such a distinction among facades occurs frequently in Byzantine architecture: at the Pantepoptes and the Kilise Camii in Istanbul, and the church of the Virgin at Stanimaka, one lateral facade is given greater definition than the other.[136]

Facades of Middle Byzantine churches in Constantinople were particularly enlivened by a combination of projections and recesses. Pilasters were added to the wall surface, as well as niches cutting into the facade, both often stepped in profile. In more elaborately articulated examples of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it is often difficult to determine which plane actually constitutes the wall surface. At Panagia Chalkeon in Thessaloniki, the Pantokrator in Istanbul, or Üçayak in Central Anatolia, the multiplication of planes creates an ambiguity of surface wherein it is difficult to tell whether the facade has been increased by stepped pilasters or "dissolved" by recessed niches.[137] Such stepped surfaces appear most frequently on apses, the most highly articulated parts of the building.

The tendency toward the enlivened wall surface continued in the Palaeologan period. The ambiguity of surface is combined with a loss of sense for structural solidity. In Constantinople and the major centers, the wall was rarely left plain. At the Theotokos of Lips, the solidity of the stepped pilasters that support the facade arcades is counteracted by recessed, semicircular niches. A similar system of articulation is employed on the exonarthex of the Kilise Camii, the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos in Istanbul, and at Sv. Ivan Aliturgetos in Nesebar (Figs. 162, 165). In contrast, at the Kariye the sense of solidity and tectonic quality of the facades is increased by the applied colonnettes which emphasize the outward projection and the "structural" significance of the stepped responds. At the same time, the structural element is taken out of context: on the south facade, the colonnettes are positioned "supporting" windows, and nowhere are there projecting elements above the string course on the same plane as the colonnettes (Fig. 128). But when compared with other Palaeologan examples, the Kariye exhibits a restrained elegance in its choice of articulation.

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[134] Ibid., 21 and notes 17, 18. For illustration, see N. Mavrodinov, *Starobulgarskot izkustvo XI–XIII v.* (Sofia, 1966), fig. 6. Ćurčić acknowledges the "unmistakably Middle Byzantine" tectonic quality of the facade of Drenovo, but notes that other features of the church suggest a 14th-century date.

[135] Ebersolt and Thiers, *Églises,* pl. 37.

[136] Ibid., pls. 34, 39; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches,* figs. 73, 84.

[137] For Panagia Chalkeon, see Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture,* fig. 330; for the Pantokrator, see Ebersolt and Thiers, *Églises,* pls. 47–48; for Üçayak, see S. Eyice, "La ruine byzantine dite 'Üçayak' près de Kirşehir en Anatolie centrale," *Cahiers archéologiques* 18 (1968), 137–55, figs. 5, 8, 13, 15.

The external use of half columns, either alone or coupled with responds, was not a new feature in Late Byzantine architecture. Such elements had appeared frequently in dome articulation, but less often in mural definition. Half columns had appeared in Constantinople articulating facades as early as 920 at the Myrelaion, where heavy semicylindrical buttresses emphasize the structural solidity of the building.[138] A similar system of articulation with half columns and responds was found at Church no. 1 on Bîâl Briâg in Preslav, probably also tenth-century.[139] Similarly massive half columns articulate the gallery level of Panagia Chalkeon in Thessaloniki, set against stepped pilasters and topped by square capping stones.[140] A more delicate use of applied colonnettes set against stepped responds occurs at Çanlı Kilise on the Hassan Dağ in Asia Minor.[141] Generally connected with Constantinopolitan practice, the colonnettes are executed in the alternating brick and stone of the wall surface and topped by broad, flat capitals which support the arcade. Used in a more decorative manner, the compound pilasters have only a vague correspondence with the internal division. The facade offers a close parallel to the Kariye, although lacking the distinctive, molded string course of the latter. The ruin of a church excavated in Nicaea from the twelfth or thirteenth century had applied colonnettes flanking the west portal.[142] Applied colonnettes appeared also in earlier Sassanian and Armenian architecture, and probably represent an element inherited from the Roman architectural tradition.[143]

In Late Byzantine architecture, stepped responds and applied colonnettes nearly identical to those at the Kariye are found at the H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki on the west and south facades. Unlike at the Kariye, the string course continues straight across the top of the responds and does not echo its plasticity. Engaged columns alone appear

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[138] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 377–80; C. L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Princeton, 1981).

[139] Mijatev, *Mittelalterliche Baukunst*, fig. 112; V. Ivanova, "Dve tsurkvi na Bîâl Briâg v Preslav," *Razkopki i prouchvaniiâ* 3 (1948), 149–55.

[140] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, fig. 330.

[141] Ibid., 423–24; N. and M. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963), 21 ff; also Ramsay and Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches*, 404 ff and figs. 331–35. The commonly accepted date of mid-11th century has been questioned by Restle, "Kappadokien," 1058, and idem, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur*, 133–35, who proposes a date of 13th century or later on stylistic grounds.

[142] Eyice, "İznik'de bir Bizans kilisesi," 37 ff.

[143] For Sassanian architecture see, for example, the palace at Firuzabad; Herrmann, *Iranian Revival*, 84–85. For Armenian architecture see, for example, Zvartnotz and Zoravor; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 181 ff and figs. 204–6.

flanking the apses on the east side of the building. The articulation of the facades of H. Aikaterini also employs engaged columns, but in this instance they are recessed into piers. Similar engaged columns appear in later Serbian architecture, as, for example, at Lazarica.[144]

A molded, chamfered string course appears at the Kariye and was utilized on the west and south facades to emphasize plastic articulation. Positioned at the springing point of the facade arches, the string course dramatically echoes the steps of the responds and the curves of the columns (Figs. 124, 149). Rarely are string courses used for such dynamic, three-dimensional effects. At H. Aikaterini in Thessaloniki the string course is fairly simple, much like that at the H. Apostoloi. On the north facade of the Kariye and the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos in Istanbul, the string course is used to separate the various levels of the facade and follows for the most part the planar surface.[145] On the Myrelaion, one of the most dynamic of the Middle Byzantine examples, the string course follows the entire articulation of the facade. It is similarly positioned, at the springing point of the facade arches, but also marks the springing of the vaulting on the interior. Such a correspondence is not always present in Palaeologan churches, and is absent on the exonarthex of the Kariye. A molded string course appears at the springing point of the arcades on the west and south facades of the Theotokos of Lips, corresponding with the internal cornice and the springing of the vaults. The string course on the south facade of the Kariye is positioned similarly. On the exonarthex of the Kilise Camii, a straight string course marks the springing for the facade arches and vaulting. A lower string course has been added, without internal correspondence, at the springing of the smaller niches, molded to accentuate the arcade openings and niches.

Such elaborate string courses would have required carving on the spot or careful measurement in order to correspond to the often irregular measure of the facades. At the Kariye, for example, each pier of the facade is of a different width. The Kilise Camii may be our latest example of such detailed decoration in Constantinople and related centers. Several examples appear later in the century in Serbia, although the string courses are more Romanesque in form, in contrast to the typically Byzantine chamfered profile.[146]

The random treatment of the east facade of the Kariye parallels other "church clusters" of the capital, like the Pantokrator and the Theotokos of Lips, as has been discussed previously. The apses of the prothesis and diaconicon have been left plain, perhaps to serve as visual "buffers" between the rich modeling of the major apses (Fig. 6). A similar solution was employed at the Pammakaristos: the minor apses of the parecclesion are unadorned on the exterior, countering the more elaborate treatment of the central apse of the parecclesion and presumably the apses of the naos, now destroyed.

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[144] Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, pls. 103–8; idem, "Articulation of Church Facades," fig. 28.

[145] Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, fig. 36–25, illustrates some delightful contours in the Pammakaristos string course.

[146] The location of the string course also differs in these examples; see, for example, Markov Manastir, Lazarica, and Sv. Nikola near Prizren; Ćurčić, "Articulation of Church Facades," pls. 26–29.

The apse of the Kariye parecclesion repeats elements of articulation from both the adjacent south facade and the older naos apse, combining stepped responds and applied colonnettes with a system of alternating flat and semicircular niches on two levels (Fig. 139). On Middle and Late Byzantine churches, the apse was usually the most highly articulated external surface. The many-faceted apse, articulated by niches or two or more levels, was one of the most popular forms among the later monuments of the capital, and the parecclesion apse finds parallels in the apses of the Pantokrator, Gül Camii, Kilise Camii, the south church at the Lips Monastery, and the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos, all in Istanbul.[147] Thus the basic articulation follows the standard format and requires no further examination. However, a few unusual features appear in details, and these shall be discussed individually.

The use of half columns to articulate the apse is somewhat rare among the surviving churches of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, although considered a Constantinopolitan characteristic.[148] Of the examples cited above, none employs half columns, with the exception of a single colonnette on the south church of the Pantokrator. These appear on several Middle Byzantine churches constructed elsewhere, but generally within the framework of Constantinopolitan influence. Applied colonnettes are employed to separate the facets of the apse at St. Sophia in Kiev, the Cathedral of the Transfiguration in Černigov, and elsewhere in Russian architecture.[149] These are combined with recessed niches. At the Bačkovo Ossuary, semicylindrical colonnettes appear on the apse, continuing the system of articulation from the lateral facade.[150] These form moldings over the tops of the niches. The closest parallel to the apse of the Kariye is found at the Çanlı Kilise in Central Anatolia.[151] A system of stepped responds and thin colonnettes continues from the south facade to the apses, similar to the Kariye.

The application of colonnettes to apses is quite rare in the early fourteenth century. The Kariye is the only surviving example from Constantinople. Applied colonnettes flank the apses of the H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki, but in a different position than those on the Kariye. In the second half of the century, however, half columns appear on the apses of numerous Serbian monuments, as at Rudenica, Lazarica, and elsewhere; at Smederevo a system of responds and colonnettes similar to the Kariye is employed.[152]

At the Kariye, the heavily molded, chamfered string course continues at the same level from the south facade and intersects the apse niches at the springing point of their arches (Fig. 139). A second string course was added at the level of the windowsill and tops a lower, dado zone of niches, unrelated to the articulation of the south facade. The appearance of two string courses on the apse is rare in Byzantine architecture. The utilization of a low string course was frequent in the churches of Greece, but was usually combined with a basic wall division, isolating a dado zone on all four walls of the building, as at Daphni, Merbaka, or Samari.[153] In others, the lower cornice continues just along the east face, as at the H. Theodoroi or the Metropolis at Mistra.[154] In other instances, as at the H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki, it may be limited to the major apse. In the examples where the dado-level string course is employed, an upper string course does not appear on the apse, although it may appear on other facades.

A lower string course, set at window level, appears at the Kilise Camii in Istanbul, on all five facets of the apse, but with an upper cornice only on the piers of the apse window.[155] At the south church of the Theotokos of Lips, the central apse also has a string course at the sill level, while the dado level of the wall is lined with niches, similar to the Kariye. On the upper portion of the apse, at the base of the top row of niches, another cornice may have appeared, but this is difficult to determine from the surviving evidence, and the division would not have corresponded with the south facade.[156] Besides the Kariye, our only other certain example of double string courses on the apse is on the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos.[157] Similarly, the lower cornice marks off a dado zone of niches and occurs at the level of the windowsill. It appears only on the central apse, without continuing onto the minor apses, and bears no relation to the divisions of the south facade. The upper cornice, on the other hand, extends across the minor apses and apparently was originally continuous with the cornice of the south facade. On the central apse, it marks off a third level of niches which corresponds with the central zone of the south facade. While the window of the apse is considerably larger than that at the Kariye, the five-faceted apse format with alternating niches is the same. The unique use of string courses isolates these two monuments and, combined with numerous other similarities, suggests that the same workshop was responsible for both. A similarly positioned lower string course appeared on the apses of the İsa Kapı Mescidi in Istanbul and the church at Silivri; unfortunately no record of the upper parts of these churches survives.[158] In later Serbian churches of the Morava school, as at Lazarica or Kalenić, two string courses are used as well, but these are not limited to the east end, and may be the result of Romanesque influence.[159]

The size and position of the parecclesion apse window is also unusual, but there is some uniformity at the Kariye: all of the apse windows are of similar form and are mullioned with three lights of equal height. The narrow parecclesion window is limited to the central facet of the apse, although in most instances where a many-faceted apse contained a window of more than one light, these were distributed over several facets, and the size of the lights was determined by the width of the facets. The parecclesion window at the Kariye bears little relation to the apse articulation and is not coherently integrated; unusually narrow, with highly stilted arches, it appears to be squeezed between the colonnettes that flank the central facet (Fig. 139). The unusual adaption of this small window may have resulted from a consideration for the interior decoration.

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[147] Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, figs. 8–10, 10–4, 13–4, 35–29, 40–7.

[148] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 423–24.

[149] Schäfer, "Architekturhistorische Beziehungen," 197–224, esp. 210 ff, pls. 88, 91, 92.

[150] Mijatev, *Mittelalterliche Baukunst*, figs. 239–42.

[151] As above, note 141.

[152] Deroko, *Monumentalna i dekorativna arhitektura*, figs. 311, 337, 355.

[153] Millet, *École grecque*, figs. 31, 118; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, fig. 247.

[154] Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, pls. 19, 21.

[155] Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, fig. 40–7.

[156] Ibid., figs. 35–1, 35–2.

[157] Ibid., fig. 36–21.

[158] Alpatov and Brunov, "Une nouvelle église," fig. 1; Feld, "Noch einmal Alexios Apokaukos," pls. 1–2.

[159] Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, figs. 352–53.

On the interior of the parecclesion, a large window providing more light would have obscured the view of the low conch of the apse immediately above it, which contained the Anastasis, the focal point of the fresco program of the chapel. At the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos, the combination of low apse and large east window makes proper viewing of the mosaic in the conch almost impossible.[160] The correction of this situation at the Kariye may have resulted from the collaboration of artist and architect in the planning of this addition.

The original, undulating roof of the Kariye, with scalloped dogtooth cornices at the eaves, was a common feature of Byzantine churches, although frequently lost in Turkish remodeling (Fig. 40). The katholikon of Chilandari Monastery on Mount Athos preserves what may be the best example of roof and cornice, and some semblance survives at the parecclesion of Pammakaristos, although the western eaves have been leveled (Fig. 165).[161] The exonarthex of the Kilise Camii and the Theotokos of Lips may also have had undulating rooflines (Fig. 162). As today, the fourteenth-century Kariye was probably roofed in lead.

As we have seen, the combination of stepped responds and applied colonnettes was discovered to be somewhat unusual on the apses of Byzantine churches, but was the standard articulation for dome drums. Excellent examples, similarly topped by dogtooth cornices defining a scalloped roofline, survive at the Pantepoptes, the Kilise Camii, and the Pammakaristos in Istanbul, and numerous monuments of Thessaloniki, varying only in size and proportion. The articulation of the parecclesion dome, however, is distinctly different from the other domes (Fig. 151). It was perhaps designed to set the parecclesion off as a separate unit. On this dome the windows are surrounded by moldings that are semicircular in profile and recessed from the surface of the drum, not unlike the colonnettes on the facades of H. Aikaterini. This feature is unique in domical decoration. Similar semicircular moldings appear on the lateral facade and apse of the Bačkovo Ossuary and the corridor windows at H. Geōrgios tōn Manganōn in Istanbul.[162]

Structural and Constructional Considerations

The majority of structural solutions and construction techniques in the fourteenth-century additions at the Kariye Camii are common to the Byzantine architectural vocabulary and require little explanation. The foundations are of stone, with large, squared blocks forming the stylobate; the rising walls are of alternating bands of brick and stone, and the vaulting is entirely of brick. In addition, several traditional vaulting forms are employed. Almost all domes are raised on drums, and all are supported by arches and pendentives. The wall construction is reinforced by piers and pilasters at critical points, and was originally reinforced by a system of wooden tie beams. Doors and windows are strengthened by relieving arches.

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[160] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, III, pl. 336 ff; for the Pammakaristos see Belting et al., *Mosaics and Frescoes*, pls. 4–5.

[161] Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, figs. 36–3, 36–4; Millet, *École grecque*, fig. 103.

[162] Mijatev, *Mittelalterliche Baukunst*, figs. 239–42; Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manganes* figs. 21–22.

A few comments are necessary concerning the use of alternating courses of brick and stone in the mural construction. This technique, descended from the Roman opus mixtum or opus vittatum, was common throughout the history of Byzantine architecture.[163] The construction of the Kariye is easily recognized as Palaeologan by its wide repeat patterns, generally four courses of brick to four of stone. The wide repeat pattern of the mural construction is seen in numerous other Palaeologan monuments. Closest in technique is the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos which similarly repeats four brick to four stone courses (Fig. 165). The same 4:4 ratio was employed in the Bogdan Saray and in the Kefeli Mescidi, both dated to this period. Other Late Byzantine monuments also have similar banding: the Tekfur Saray (3 brick courses to 3 stone courses); İsa Kapı Mescidi (3:3); Manastir Mescidi (4:4 or 4:5); Sinan Paşa Mescidi (4:3 or 5:3).[164]

The use of wide, alternating courses was not limited to the Late Byzantine period, nor was this the only manner of mural construction in Palaeologan architecture. In both the late thirteenth-century additions to the Theotokos of Lips and the early fourteenth-century additions to the Kilise Camii, banding of two courses of brick to one of stone is most frequently employed (Fig. 162).[165] Alternating brick and stone also appeared in Middle Byzantine buildings, but generally the monuments of this period employ an irregular repeat pattern with stone in single courses. Numerous examples survive in Istanbul: the original church of the Theotokos of Lips, the core of the Kilise Camii, the Pantokrator, as well as the twelfth-century construction at the Kariye.[166] The wider bands of the Palaeologan monuments noted above resemble more closely Early Byzantine monuments, for example, H. Eirene, H. Iōannēs in the Studion, and the substructures to the east of the Kariye. Thus, the Late Byzantine builders may have been looking to early examples for their inspiration.

Similar alternating brick and stone construction appeared in other Palaeologan centers as well. These monuments are related to architectural developments in the capital and include numerous decorative features also of Constantinopolitan origin, including decorative brick patterning, stepped responds, and pumpkin domes. In the Apokaukos church in Silivri, constructed ca. 1321–28, a repeat pattern of three brick to three stone courses was employed. Unfortunately this important monument has all but vanished in the last century.[167] Similar ratios appear in the Palaeologan churches of Nesebar: Sv. Ivan Aliturgetos (4:3), Pantokrator (usually 4:4), Sv. Mikhail i Gavrail (3:2), Sv. Todor (3:2).[168]

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[163] A. Boethius and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1970), 584 and pls. 176, 270.

[164] For illustrations see Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 37–39, 169–70, 196–97, 260–61, 358–59; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, esp. 244–47. İsa Kapı Mescidi and Bogdan Saray employed an unusual technique of brick-filled mortar joints, but their external appearance is similar to the other examples. This technique is similar to the Lascarid architecture of 13th-century Asia Minor; see Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," 261–96. For a possible connection between the two areas, see R. Ousterhout, "The Origins of Palaeologan Construction," *Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers* 8 (1982), 10–11. Two insecurely dated monuments in Constantinople, H. Iōannēs en tō Trullō and Toklu Dede Mescidi, have similar, wide repeat patterns; Mathews suggests a Palaeologan date for the first, and an 11th- to 12th-century date is usually accepted for the second; see Mathews, 159–67, 376–82.

[165] Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 322–45, 386–93, for illustrations.

[166] For additional comments on masonry construction, see B. Aran, "The Church of St. Theodosia and the Monastery of Christ Evergetes," *JÖB* 28 (1979), 211–28; and Velenis, *Hermēneia tou exōterikou diakosmou*, passim.

On the north and south facades of the Kariye, the arches are constructed of brick, as is the vaulting of the interior (Fig. 128). On the west facade, however, the alternating brick and stone of the wall construction continues into the arches of the arcade, where a repeat pattern of three bricks to one stone is maintained (Fig 3.). The recessed arches of the arcade also maintain the same pattern, and the ratio of stone to brick is fairly even. The use of banded arches is considered a hallmark of Palaeologan construction. In Constantinople, similarly banded voussoirs appear at the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos, Kilise Camii, İsa Kapı Mescidi, the Bogdan Saray, the Tekfur Saray, and perhaps Kasım Ağa Mescidi. The Apokaukos church in Silivri also employed banded voussoirs. In Thessaloniki the use of banded masonry is much more restrained, but alternating brick and stone voussoirs appear at the H. Apostoloi, H. Aikaterini, and the Vlattadon.[169] All of the late churches of Nesebar use banded voussoirs.[170] Numerous late Serbian churches also employ banded masonry in the facades and continuing in the voussoirs, as at the Markov Manastir and Matejić.[171]

While characteristically Palaeologan, adding to the coloristic treatment of the exterior, alternating brick and stone voussoirs appear in numerous earlier monuments. Several examples from the eleventh and twelfth centuries survive in Bulgaria, although the construction is much less even: Sv. Mikhail i Gavrail in Bačkovo Monastery, Sv. Dimitri at Tarnovo, and the Theotokos church at Stanimaka.[172] Closer comparisons to Palaeologan architecture may be found among the thirteenth-century monuments of Lascarid Asia Minor, notably the churches of Latmos.[173] This form of facade arch was not unknown in the West, and appears in the architecture of Lombardy and Sicily. In both East and West, banded voussoirs may derive from the use of polychrome masonry in Late Roman architecture, revived when an emphasis on external decoration was renewed.[174]

It should be noted that the construction technique of the fourteenth-century Kariye is of extremely high quality. Often in Byzantine constructions, cut stone was only

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[167] S. Eyice, "Alexis Apocauque et l'église byzantine de Selymbria," *Byzantion* 37 (1967), 77–104; Feld, "Noch einmal Alexios Apokaukos," 57–65; S. Eyice, "Encore une fois l'église d'Alexis Apocauque à Selymbria," *Byzantion* 48 (1978), 406–16.

[168] Rachénov, *Églises de Mesemvria*, pls. 18, 19, 28, 29, 39, 44.

[169] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, figs. 387, 388, 390; Xyngopoulos, *Tesseres mikroi naoi*, pl. 3.

[170] Banded voussoirs also appear on the church of Sv. Ivan, dated ca. 1000; Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 467–68; see also Rachénov, *Églises de Mesemvria*, 94–97.

[171] Deroko, *Monumentalna i dekorativna arhitektura*, figs. 261–62.

[172] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 468; N. Mavrodinov, *L'église à nef unique et l'église cruciform en pays bulgare* (Sofia, 1931), figs. 44, 62, 66.

[173] Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," figs. 26, 27, 32; Latmos Church 8 (Kaiwe Assar Adası) and Church 4 (İkis Ada).

[174] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 468, for further comments on banded masonry.

used as facing for a rubble core, with layers of brick forming a leveling course.[175] At the fourteenth-century Kariye the construction is almost entirely solid masonry with little, if any, rubble fill. Interior and exterior courses correspond throughout the building.[176] Even the masonry of the twelfth-century Kariye appears to be facing for a rubble core. The sophistication of the later building technique is most evident in the plastic treatment of the exterior. The stepped responds, applied colonnettes, and niches are all continuous and bonded with the mural surface. These highly articulated wall areas would have required stones cut specifically for each location. Such technical sophistication is in direct contrast with the so-called "ad hoc" nature of the plan, and should perhaps cause one to question the notion that the architecture is mediocre and that it "hardly stands comparison with the deservedly famous mosaics and frescoes of the interior."[177] As one of the wealthiest and most powerful men in the empire, Theodore Metochites was able to hire the best artists available, and one suspects that he would have been equally selective in his choice of architects and masons.

While most of the constructional and structural features of the building are traditional and technically of high quality, certain structural discrepancies appear which parallel the oddities of the plan. Structural solutions were often conceived on a small scale, with little coordination between adjacent parts. The building testifies to a loosening of architectural principles in the Late Byzantine period. The classical, architectonic system of the Middle Byzantine period had been reduced to a manner, with decorative aspects outweighing structural considerations. The tectonic articulation of the facades, for example, had become divorced from the support system of the interior, and its function had become purely decorative. At the same time, the increased interest in the decorative aspects of the architecture may have led to some innovative structural solutions, dictated by a consideration for the placement of the mosaics and frescoes of the interior.

A lack of structural integration is evident in the various units of building, the components of which are treated individually. The inner and outer narthexes, for example, follow similar systems of structural support for the vaulting, yet the spacing of bays differs completely from one to the other, while neither relates to the naos. The wall responds that support the arches of the vaulting are placed at critical points between bays, but these are not coordinated between the two narthexes, and the structural efficiency is thereby diminished. Similarly, the system of responds which articulates the exterior of the building bears little relationship to the interior structural system. This is clearly seen on the south facade, where stepped responds and half columns are positioned illogically "supporting" windows (Fig. 128). It is as if the architect could not visualize both sides of a wall simultaneously.

A lack of vertical coordination is also apparent in several areas. On the east face of the north annex, the windows are not aligned, diminishing the structural efficiency of the wall and contributing to the weakness of this area which resulted in the cracking of the wall (Fig. 141). The vent window over the west entrance to the north annex is similarly out of alignment in another structurally weak area. This lack of vertical alignment is characteristic of Palaeologan architecture and may be seen at the Tekfur Saray, the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos, numerous churches of Nesebar, and elsewhere.[178]

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[175] A. Choisy, *L'art de bâtir chez les byzantins* (Paris, 1883), 7–13 and figs. 4–6.

[176] The only exceptions are the large areas between the naos and parecclesion which were probably rubble fill.

[177] Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 269–71.

The divergence between interior and exterior and between adjacent building components would have been unthinkable in the Middle Byzantine period. At the Myrelaion in Istanbul or the Panagia Chalkeon in Thessaloniki, internal form and external articulation are interrelated: the divisions of the interior are clearly visible on the facades.[179] The structural systems of the adjacent spaces are also related: the bay divisions of the narthex and the size of the pastophoria, for example, are determined by the divisions of the naos. In the Late Byzantine period, the building components were treated individually, and the architectural decoration became divorced from the structural system. In the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos, for example, there is no relation between the structural divisions of the naos and the narthex, and the tectonic features of the south facade are subordinated to the decorative features (Figs. 164–165).

At the Kariye, other structural discrepancies are evident in the vaulting, which often bears little relationship to the wall construction. In the pastophoria, the arches supporting the domes in many instances spring from corbels in an attempt to join the square format required for a dome to the irregular rectangular spaces of the chambers (Figs. 66, 69). The arches supporting the domes vary in width, and occasionally the pendentives rise directly from the wall surface without an intervening arch. The use of corbels allowed for broad, uninterrupted surfaces to be decorated with fresco. A similar use of corbels may be seen in the Bogdan Saray, in the minor domes of Gračanica, and at Sv. Ivan Aliturgetos.[180]

The arch between bays six and seven of the exonarthex is also corbeled on the south side in addition to the projecting wall respond (Fig. 120). The corbel was probably used here in an attempt to equalize the length and width of the sixth bay, covered by a domical vault. Its utilization at this point demonstrates a particular lack of understanding of the building's structural requirements. The large and presumably heavy belfry that was constructed above this bay required additional support. For this purpose, the architect doubled the thickness of the arches of bay six, making them two brick lengths wide, yet had one arch springing from a corbel. It is no wonder that this area required additional structural reinforcement shortly after construction.

A number of vaulting types appear at the Kariye. Barrel vaults were used in both levels of the north annex, and a ramping barrel vault covers the stairs that connect them (Figs. 74, 78, 80). The passageway between the naos and the parecclesion is also barrel vaulted (Figs. 94–95). The oratory and darkroom are covered by unribbed groin vaults that rise directly from three walls and from a broad arch on the fourth side (Fig. 98).

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[178] For the Tekfur Saray, see Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 244–47. At Nesebar note particularly the Pantokrator; Rachénov, *Églises de Mesemvria*, pl. 25.

[179] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, fig. 309; Diehl et al., *Monuments chrétiens*, pl. 50.

[180] Rachénov, *Églises de Mesemvria*, fig. 29; Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, pl. 19; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 280–88. See Ćurčić, 103 ff, for other examples in the Balkans.

These rectangular rooms are awkwardly fitted with vaults requiring a square format, not unlike the pastophoria. In these instances, however, there is no reason why a groin vault of rectangular format could not have been used. Presumably such discrepancies were unimportant in minor spaces; however, such a lack of relationship between plan and vaulting appears frequently in Palaeologan architecture. In the exonarthexes of the Kilise Camii in Istanbul or the H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki, for example, there is little relationship between wall divisions and vaulting division (Fig. 166).[181] One wonders if perhaps wall construction and vaulting may not have been executed by separate teams of builders.

The most common type of vaulting in the Kariye is the sail or domical vault. Large domical vaults on squarish bases appear in the parecclesion and exonarthex (Figs. 82, 119). These appear almost like pendentive domes. An unusual variety of sail vault is used in the central bays of the inner narthex and in four of the outer narthex bays (Figs. 108, 117). To my knowledge, such vaults are found only at the Kariye Camii.[182] The domical vault of this type required a square base and was thus an odd choice for covering the rectangular bays of the narthexes. Extra lateral arches were required in each rectangular bay to square off the central area. The additional arches spring somewhat incongruously from the lower portions of the longitudinal arches that separate the bays. As the sizes of the bays are irregular, the widths of the lateral arches also vary, depending on the width necessary to create a squarish central area. This unusual system of arches springing from arches is in its structural incongruity not unlike the characteristic Palaeologan lack of vertical coordination in facades discussed above.

A groin vault, adaptable to a rectangular space, would make more sense architecturally in the narthex bays; indeed, it was far more common in Byzantine construction. While domical vaults are used frequently, they rarely appear in public spaces but are much more common in cisterns.[183] In the ambulatories of the Parigoritissa at Arta and H. Apostoloi at Thessaloniki, domical vaults alternate with groin vaults.[184] The domical vaults of the exonarthex of the Pammakaristos in Istanbul have been dated to the Turkish period.[185] The unique form and consistent use of domical vaults at the Kariye require explanation. It is possible that their appearance results from an interaction between artist and architect in the planning of the building. The architect may have been aware of the nature of the mosaic covering, and modified the construction in order to provide adequate surfaces for the representation of the narrative cycles. Groin vaults would have reduced the surface area to small, triangular compartments which would have been unsuitable for narrative scenes.[186] The domical vaults provide the necessary continuous surface. But by no means was this a flat surface, and the mosaic compositions have been stretched and contorted accordingly.[187] The choice and perhaps creation of this unusual vaulting type, then, seems to represent a compromise between architect and artist, resulting in a solution that is somewhat less than ideal for both.

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[181] Perhaps the most extreme example of lack of relationship between plan and vaulting is the Vlacherna at Arta (13th century), where domes were inserted into an older basilica with seemingly total indifference to the structural system of the arcades below; see A. K. Orlandos, "Hē para tēn Artan monē tōn Vlachernōn," *Archeion tōn Byzantinōn mnēmeiōn tēs Hellados* 2, no. 1 (1936), 3–50, figs. 1–2.

[182] A similar type of support system is utilized for the narthex dome of Panagia Krina on Chios (13th century); see Ch. Bouras, *Chios* (Athens, 1974), 32.

[183] Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 33 ff; also D. Israel, *Optical Refinement in the Decoration of Vaulted Spaces in Later Palaeologan Art, with Special Reference to the Kariye Camii in Istanbul*, M.A. thesis (Pennsylvania State University, 1975). For sail vaults in cisterns, see Forchheimer and Strzygowski, *Die byzantinischen Wasserbehälter*, 53 ff, for numerous examples.

[184] Orlandos, *Paregorētissa*, pls. 18, 44; Diehl et al., *Monuments chrétiens*, pl. 62.

[185] Mango and Hawkins, "Report on Field Work," 328.

There is some variety in the types of domes employed at the Kariye, which may also have resulted from the close working relationship between architect and artist. With the exception of the unexposed prothesis dome, all are raised on windowed drums, and those decorated with frescoes are ribbed, while those decorated with mosaic are gored (Figs. 56–57, 67, 71, 83, 106–107). Each has the surface best suited to its decoration: frescoes work best on a relavitely flat surface, while a curved or undulating surface shows off mosaic to its best advantage. Like the use of sail vaults, the choice of dome types may have taken the decoration into consideration. It should be noted, however, that the variety of domes employed in Byzantine architecture is by no means consistent with this division: the low, pumpkin dome of the Kariye prothesis is frescoed (Fig. 67); the ribbed dome of the Pammakaristos parecclesion is decorated with mosaic; and in the exonarthex of the Kilise Camii, both dome types appear, originally covered by mosaic.[188]

A final structural feature to be considered is the flying buttress, constructed to support the main apse (Figs. 5, 142). An unusual feature in Byzantine architecture, the buttress was added to counteract the structural weakness of the east end of the building. While buttresses are not unknown in Byzantine architecture, the form closely resembles Western Gothic types, for example, at the Cathedral of Laon, and should be considered the result of Western influence.[189] The construction technique is purely Byzantine, however, identical to the other fourteenth-century additions. Both form and construction are similar to the buttresses added to the north and west flanks of H. Sophia in Constantinople. The date of these are disputed: they were either constructed in the thirteenth century during the Latin Occupation or as a part of the restoration of 1317. It seems most likely that the western buttresses are from the Latin Occupation: these are of uneven construction, and this dating conforms with that of the belfry which was probably incorporated in the central buttresses. The north buttresses, on the other hand, display a more regular construction of alternating brick and stone, and have three flyers each, closely corresponding to the Kariye buttresses, and probably belong to the 1317 restoration.[190] In neither instance are the buttresses positioned in proper relationship to the structural system of H. Sophia and offer little more than the appearance of security. The same was true at the Kariye: due to the shifting of the unstable terrain, the buttress had separated from the apse, and the middle flyer collapsed. Earlier this century, a scaffolding was required to support the remainder of the flying buttress (Fig. 142).

Decorative Aspects of Architecture

1. Exterior

The use of decorative brick patterns on the exterior of the Kariye Camii exhibits a restraint that complements the uniformity of the plastic articulation and the subtle contrasts of banded construction. A dignified simplicity is evident in both the limited number of decorative patterns employed and in their positioning within the architectonic framework of the facades. Such restraint is rarely found in the decorative patterning of contemporary monuments, where, in general, an exuberance of decoration parallels a slackening of structural rigor.[191] At the Kariye the two are kept in balance.

The external decorative elements occur in only three areas on the building: on the north facade, where patterning is limited to the spandrels (Figs. 7, 145); on the apse and east end of the parecclesion, where patterns occur in the tympana and conches of niches (Figs. 5, 133, 139–140); and on the belfry base, where niches are topped by ogival arches that contain monograms (Figs. 127, 130–132). In each area, either the spandrels or niches are decorated, but never both in the same location. Restricting the decorative patterns to a clearly defined architectural framework eliminated consideration of decorative friezes, meanders, and more random decorative elements seen, for example, on the south church at the Lips Monastery, the Pammakaristos parecclesion, and the H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki.

At the Kariye the decorative repertory is limited to five or six basic motifs, executed entirely in brick: a zigzag or chevron pattern; a diaper pattern in which bricks frame squares of mortar; corbeled arches forming an indented heart shape; a basketweave pattern of two horizontal bricks alternating with two vertical bricks; and a pattern of overlapping semicircles, probably formed by sections of roofing tiles. The three ogival arches of the belfry base all contain monograms of Theodore Metochites. The greatest variation of patterns is found on the north facade: the six spandrels contain four different designs, and one spandrel includes a small window as well as patterning. On the parecclesion apse, all but one of the patterns are variations of the zigzag. On the lower level, alternating niches have been left plain. All of the designs are common to the decorative vocabulary of Constantinople.

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[186] Groin vaults are occasionally used for narrative scenes, as at Dećani, where the ribbed groin vaults are western in character; see V. Petković and Dj. Bošković, *Dećani* (Belgrade, 1941), esp. pls. 252–59.

[187] See O. Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and Its Place in the Development of Palaeologan Art," in *Kariye Djami*, IV, 209 ff.

[188] Belting et al., *Mosaics and Frescoes*, pls. 27, 119–21.

[189] Believing the Chora to date to the 10th or 11th century, Lenoir, *Architecture monastique*, 281, viewed the Kariye's flying buttress as proof that the Byzantines had developed the form before the West.

[190] Swift, *Hagia Sophia*, 87–88; Schneider, "Grabungen im Westhof," 31–33. For illustrations, R. Van Nice, *St. Sophia in Istanbul: An Architectural Survey* (Washington, D.C., 1965), pls. 4–5. My thanks to Mr. Van Nice for sharing his unpublished photographs, drawings, and expertise on St. Sophia.

[191] For a discussion of ceramic decoration, see A. Pasadaios, *Ho Keramoplastikos diakosmos tōn byzantinōn ktēriōn tēs Kōnstantinopouleōs* (Athens, 1973); Y. Ötüken, "Istanbul son devir Bizans mimarisinde cephe Süslemeleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 12 (1978), 213–33; and Velenis, *Hermēneia tou exōterikou diakosmou*, passim.

The zigzag was ubiquitous in Byzantine architectural decoration; it appears twice on the north facade and six times on the parecclesion apse (Figs. 140, 145). The pattern takes on two basic forms. When used on a curved surface, that is, the conch of a niche, the pattern radiates from a central, W-shaped element with diagonals radiating outward, following the curve of the conch. These have been discussed above in Chapter 1. It was also common in the flat, herringbone form. In the Palaeologan churches of Constantinople, a similar, flat pattern appears in the spandrels of the Pammakaristos and the İsa Kapı Mescidi.[192]

The diaper pattern is also relatively common. At the Kariye it appears in a spandrel on the north facade and in the tympanum of the ogival arch at the east end of the south facade (Figs. 7, 133). In both instances the pattern is formed by bricks, while the squares of the field are of mortar. The same design appears in the apse tympanum of H. Iōannēs of Lips and earlier on the south side of the apse of the Pantepoptes.[193] The design, based on a diamond pattern, may have been inspired by reticulate masonry or revetment, with borders of brick and squares of mortar.[194] Similar reticulate-like patterns which involve stonework appear at the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos and the Tekfur Saray, as well a numerous later examples.[195]

An unusual pattern, two small, brick arches positioned in the spandrels bridging the larger arches of the arcade and forming an indented heart shape, appears twice on the north facade (Fig. 7). The arches are of brick, while the indented surface continues the banded construction of the wall. Similar hearts appear on the substructure of the Philanthropos Monastery, the north facade of Kalenderhane Camii, and on the apse of H. Iōannēs of Lips, all in Istanbul. In all instances the motif is not related to any specific architectural context, but is merely a design set into the wall surface.[196] The central springing point of the arches is corbeled outward in all instances. The origin of this decorative feature in all likelihood is pure fancy. Its appearance at the Kariye—arches springing from arches—parallels the structural illogic of the narthex vaults. An interesting variation of this motif appears at the church of Panagia Krina on Chios, probably built in the thirteenth century.[197] In this case smaller, double arches are set between larger arches; rather than corbeled, these are supported by a central colonnette, forming a blind bilobe. Identical motifs appear on the south facade of St. George Sykousis on Chios, but are covered with plaster. Later examples appear at Sv. Ivan Aliturgetos at Nesebar with the arches carved in stone, as well as in early Ottoman architecture.[198]

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[192] Pasadaios, *Keramoplastikos*, pl. 6; S. Eyice, *Son devir Bizans mimarisi* (Istanbul, 1980), figs. 76, 115.

[193] Eyice, *Son devir Bizans mimarisi*, fig. 36.

[194] For reticulate see A. H. S. Megaw, "Byzantine Reticulate Revetments," *Charisterion eis A. K. Orlandon* (Athens, 1966), III, 10–22.

[195] Pasadaios, *Keramoplastikos*, pls. 31–33.

[196] Ibid., pls. 18, 23; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, fig. 18–1.

[197] Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," pls. 20, 28. The recently proposed 11th-century date is untenable; see Ch. Bouras, "To templo tēs Panagias Krinas kai hē chronologēsē tēs," *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias* 10 (1980–81), 165–80. This is refuted by Velenis, *Hermēneia tou exōterikou diakosmou*, 92 note 1.

[198] Rachénov, *Églises de Mesemvria*, pl. 19; A. Oktay, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Türk Sanatı (14. Yüzyıl)* (Istanbul, 1977), 106, for example, in Yenişehir. The motif has been discussed by M. Tunay, "Masonry of Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Periods," *Zograf* 12 (1981), 76–79.

The "basketweave" motif, which appears on a spandrel of the north facade of the Kariye, was a fairly common motif (Fig. 7). In the Middle Byzantine period it appeared at the Pantepoptes and the Kilise Camii, while in Palaeologan times it appeared at H. Iōannēs of Lips and in the Land Wall.[199] More elaborate versions, alternating with squares of stone, appear at the Pammakaristos and the Tekfur Saray.[200] More unusual are the semicircles that appear in the upper south niche of the parecclesion apse. While curved pieces of ceramic were used frequently elsewhere, the design of a pyramid of semicircles appears only at the Kariye and at the Lips Monastery in Istanbul.[201] A similar scallop design, executed in small bricks rather than ceramic tiles, appears on the north facade of Sv. Ivan Aliturgetos.[202]

Perhaps the most distinctive decorative feature at the Kariye is the use of small ogival arches which appear four times on the building (Figs. 127, 130–133). At the east end of the south facade, an ogival arch is constructed of brick, topping a decorative niche. This arch finds a close parallel—and the only other example among the contemporary monuments of Istanbul—on the south facade of the Pammakaristos (Fig. 165).[203] The other three examples, on the base of the Kariye belfry, are executed with cut stone voussoirs that have no close parallels. Similar ogival arches also appear in Venice at S. Marco in the thirteenth century; these and the Kariye arches probably derive from a common source—Islamic architecture.[204] In both instances the use of the arch is decorative rather than structural. Ogival arches appear later at Sv. Ivan Aliturgetos and the Pantokrator in Nesebar in corbeled friezes of alternating arches.[205] While no earlier architectural examples have come down to us, the ogival arch was known in earlier Byzantine art as a design motif. An incense burner now in the Aachen Cathedral Treasury, dating from the eleventh or twelfth century, for example, was given an architectural form, with an ogival arch over the portal.[206] Such examples may have resulted from an earlier wave of Islamic inspiration.

At the Kariye the tympana of the three niches enclose monograms of the founder, Theodoros Metochites Logothetes, formed in brick letters against a mortar background. These compare favorably with other monograms of Metochites from the naos dome cornice and autographed manuscripts.[207] The use of names and monograms as architectural decoration had a long tradition in Byzantine art, going back at least to the sixth century. In the fourteenth century Patriarch Niphon included his name in the decoration of the west facade of the H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki.[208] At the Pammakaristos parecclesion, the upper frieze is formed by a dedicatory inscription executed in brick (Fig. 165).[209]

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[199] Pasadaios, *Keramoplastikos*, pls. A, 2, 15, 19, 31.

[200] Ibid., pls. 15, 19, 20, 31, 32.

[201] Ibid., pls. 15–16.

[202] Rachénov, *Églises de Mesemvria*, pl. 19.

[203] Pasadaios, *Keramoplastikos*, pl. 36.

[204] O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice* (Washington, D.C., 1960), 104–5.

[205] Rachénov, *Églises de Mesemvria*, pls. 17, 26.

[206] A. Grabar, *L'art de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1968), III, pls. 111–12.

[207] Compare with Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 39. Stephan Gerlach saw and recorded these monograms in the 16th century; see Ousterhout, "Sixteenth-Century Visitor," 117–24. The monograms recorded by Gerlach were correctly identified as those from the Chora by Schneider, "Archäologische Funde," 591–92.

The use of decorative brick patterns to enliven facades is related to the emphasis on the picturesque aspects of the exterior of the building in the Late Byzantine period. While characteristic of the era, the use of patterning is certainly considerably older, ultimately part of the Roman heritage.[210] In a closer context, brick and polychrome decoration began to reappear in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, perhaps as an outgrowth of constructional practices, as has been discussed above in Chapter 1. Although the taste for decoration may have waned toward the end of the twelfth century, it continued and was intensified in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with several flourishing local schools. A recent study has attempted to base the impetus for Palaeologan architectural attitudes in the thirteenth-century buildings of Asia Minor produced under the Lascarids, which exhibit a wide variety of decoration, often similar to those that appear later in the capital. Unfortunately the crucial monuments of this period in Nicaea and Magnesia are missing. Such buildings as the palace at Nymphaion (Nif) and churches at Philadelphia (Alaşehir) and Sardis may reflect imperial patronage.[211] A link with Bulgaria has also been suggested.[212] Whatever the source, after the return to Byzantine rule in Constantinople, new buildings display a distinctively decorative flavor. The church of H. Iōannēs at the Lips Monastery, the earliest major post-restoration ecclesiastical structure, displays a random and "nonstructural" attitude toward the application of decoration, with the effect of a patchwork quilt, a sampler of decorative motifs. The Tekfur Saray, perhaps constructed ca. 1271, also exhibits a lavish and extensive decorative vocabulary.

The chronology of Late Byzantine monuments in the capital is far from certain. However, if we take into consideration the few securely dated buildings, it appears that there was a trend away from the decorative extravagance of the Lips church, toward a simplification and integration of diverse elements. The apogee of the integration process occurs at the Kariye Camii, where the decorative elements are secondary to the architectonic elements of the facades. The system of decoration is organized, rational, and sophisticated compared to the slightly earlier south facade of the Pammakaristos, where decorative and architectonic elements appear in direct competition with each other, or the apses of H. Iōannēs at Lips, where the tectonic elements are simply overwhelmed by decoration. At the later Apokaukos church in Silivri, ca. 1321–28, close to the Constantinopolitan development, the decoration is simpler and even more restrained, limited to the tiny spandrels of the lateral facades.[213]

It is noteworthy that the trend from a complex layering of decoration to a simpler, tectonically oriented system is also to be seen in King Milutin's Serbia, where fortunes were on the rise. The Serbian development culminated in the monumentality and decorative simplicity of Gračanica, contemporary with the Kariye.[214] A similar trend may have occurred in Thessaloniki at the same time, although the chronology of the monuments is far from certain. A second phase of decorative fancy, perhaps under the influence of this last great burst of architectural activity in the capital, appears from the second third of the century onward. In numerous other locations, the architecture becomes increasingly decorative, often imitating the architectural vocabulary of the capital, as at Nesebar, in the Serbo-Greek Empire of Dušan, at Thessaloniki, and in the early mosques of Bursa.[215]

2. *Interior*

The richness of the exterior articulation of the Kariye is paralleled by the elaborate decoration of the interior, although the effect is gained by different means. Care and consideration were given to all surfaces. The inner narthex gives the best impression of the original, with most of the flooring, mosaic, and revetment still surviving (Figs. 104–105). The parecclesion also retains its mural surface almost intact (Figs. 81–82). A sort of *horror vacui* pervades. Not only were the floors, walls, and vaults covered, but the original cornices, capitals, and tie beams were painted and numerous sculptural spoils were utilized. Combined with the stained glass windows, church furnishings, hangings, icons, chandeliers, and liturgical vessels, the visual impression would have been one of extreme opulence, if not garishness. There are indications that the interiors of H. Iōannēs at the Lips Monastery and the Pammakaristos parecclesion were also lavishly decorated, but none of the late monuments survives in a condition comparable to the Kariye.

All of the surfaces were decorated, but not all were elaborate. The simplicity of the marble floor that survives in the naos and esonarthex appears to have been characteristic of fourteenth-century taste in the capital, judging from the few surviving remnants elsewhere (Fig. 63). This differs markedly from the elaborate opus sectile floors in vogue in the Middle Byzantine period, as at the Pantokrator or the Studion.[216] In the Palaeologan period, the preferred form was mirrored panels of Proconnesian marble with a simple, geometric border, defined by the architectural divisions. A similar floor may be seen in the Pammakaristos parecclesion.[217] At Gračanica a simple marble floor was also given a geometric division, perhaps under the influences of cosmopolitan taste.[218] Often earlier opus sectile panels appear as spoils in Palaeologan floors; this occurs at both the Kariye naos and the Pammakaristos parecclesion. This practice may explain the fragments discovered in the south church of Lips, although not enough of the floor has survived to determine its original character.[219]

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[208] J. M. Spieser, "Inventaires en vu d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance: I. Les inscriptions de Thessalonique," *Travaux et mémoires* 5 (1973), 169, nos. 21a, 21b, and pl. VI, 1–6.

[209] Belting et al., *Mosaics and Frescoes*, pl. 2b.

[210] For additional comments, see Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 466–68.

[211] Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," 261–96.

[212] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 468.

[213] Feld, "Noch einmal Alexios Apokaukos" 57–65.

[214] Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, 62–69, 122–27.

[215] For Nesebar see Rachénov, *Églises de Mesemvria*. For Bursa see Oktay, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca;* and Gabriel, *Une capitale turque*. For Thessaloniki see Xyngopoulos, *Tesseres mikroi naoi;* and Pelikanides, "Byzantine Monuments in Greek Macedonia."

[216] Megaw, "Notes," 335–40, with further references.

[217] Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, figs. 36–29, 36–34.

[218] Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, pl. 21.

A considerable amount of the wall revetment survives at the Kariye as well. In the naos and esonarthex, the revetment remains almost in its entirety, while in the exonarthex, only a few pieces are left in situ, giving an indication of the original. In the parecclesion, a marble dado zone is imitated in paint, topped by an illusionistic molding, following a standard division for painted wall decoration (Fig. 84). While all of the revetments are likely to date from the fourteenth century, the pattern of marbles appears to have been coordinated to suit the individual chambers. The broad, open surfaces of the naos are covered by the traditional arrangement of revetments best suited to a large space (Figs. 50–53). The simple dado zone is topped by a high upper zone of sets of matched panels, involving elaborate framing moldings and a wide variety of colored marbles. This solution compares favorably with the revetments of H. Sophia, Kalenderhane Camii, and the Pantokrator, all in Istanbul. Unfortunately no other Palaeologan revetments survive in good enough condition to facilitate comparison. The decorative inlays of the Kariye's naos revetment—the upper frieze and the rinceau patterns of the spandrels (Figs. 61–62)—find some parallels at the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos and in some champlevé fragments from the ambulatory of the Theotokos of Lips.[220]

In the inner narthex, the pattern and selection of marbles is more restricted (Figs. 104–105). The revetment is limited almost exclusively to repeat patterns of Proconnesian marble framed by verde antico. A dado level is maintained, but with two upper levels of simple, framed panels, set off by bullnose moldings. Varieties of colored marbles and bead-and-reel moldings appear only as accents to the major entrances. Unlike in the naos, there is no upper border, and the entire repertory was simplified to suit the more intimate scale of the esonarthex. It should be noted that the vertical divisions of the esonarthex revetment do not coincide with the structural divisions. The repeat pattern of the panels continues unbroken across the pilaster strips with the divisions occurring on the flat wall surface. In addition, the patterns end abruptly, without a frame, as they intersect the Deesis mosaic. In the exonarthex, the same occurred where the revetment turns into the reveals of the portico facade. These discrepancies might be regarded as a manneristic feature of the decoration, consciously breaking established patterns, and may be compared to other decorative elements of the architecture which are not coordinated with the structural system. The approach is antistructural, and there is an element of surprise in the deviations from the classical norm: pilasters are ignored, patterns bend around corners and end abruptly, following their own system of logic, irrespective of architectural divisions and without coordination between facing walls. On the other hand, the deemphasis of the structural elements may have been intended to play down the great number of irregularities in the plan of the inner narthex. The overlapping system of revetment thus added a counterpoint to the irregular rhythm of structural articulation.

[219] Macridy et al., "Monastery of Lips," 267 and figs. 52–54.

[220] Ibid., 268 and figs. 62–63. For the Kariye see Rüdell, *Kahrie-Dschamisi*, pl. 10. See also Šuput, "Les reliefs byzantins," for numerous comparisons.

The exonarthex revetment had originally two horizontal divisions, as the vaulting was lower than that in the inner narthex. The revetment may have been more closely related to the structural divisions than in the esonarthex: the wall surface was broken at somewhat regular intervals by pilaster strips, each accentuated by a framed mosaic icon.

The major doorframes are equally impressive as the revetments (Figs. 109, 118, 155). These are elaborately profiled with the jambs topped by broad, projecting lintels. The frames are generally of Proconnesian marble, although verde antico and rosso antico are occasionally used. Except for two reused lintels in the esonarthex and naos, the doorframes are devoid of sculptural decoration, maintaining a dignified simplicity, comparable to earlier examples at H. Sophia, the Studion, and the Pantokrator. Again, there are few comparable contemporary examples: the doorframes at the Kilise Camii are probably spoils, like the rest of its sculptural decoration, while those of the Pammakaristos and Lips are now missing.

At the Kariye the chamfered marble cornices of the narthex and the parecclesion were painted rather than sculpted. The painted design is now flaked and fragmentary, but enough survives to reconstruct a gilded rinceau on a blue background, similar to the designs that appear in the soffits of the windows.[221] A similarly painted, chamfered marble cornice survives at the Pammakaristos parecclesion which, however, bore a painted inscription. The dome cornice of the Pammakaristos had sculpted decoration. At H. Iōannēs of Lips, all of the cornices were sculpted.[222] It is worth noting that the designs employed for sculpted and painted cornices were quite similar and virtually interchangeable. At the Pammakaristos, poems by Philes were inscribed on both the interior and exterior cornices, but painted on the former and sculpted on the latter.[223]

Similar rinceau patterns appeared on the fourteenth-century tie beams, which no longer survive. These are visible in early photographs and were no doubt also a gilded design on a dark background (Fig. 91).[224] Again, the designs are similar to the decorative patterns of the window soffits. Because of the ephemeral nature of wood, few original tie beams have survived elsewhere. Similarly gilded and painted beams are found at H. Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki, dating from the early fourteenth century.[225] Others have survived from fourteenth-century Serbia as well, also decorated, and this seems to have been a common practice.[226] At the Kariye, other architectural elements were also painted. The capitals and imposts of the entrance to the parecclesion had the acanthus rendered in dark yellow with the background in blue (Fig. 84). Capitals at the Pammakaristos and at H. Nikolaos Orphanos were similarly painted.[227] This was presumably also a common practice. Other pieces of sculpture at the Kariye also show

[221] For the painted cornices, see Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, II, pl. 16; also Sender, *Byzantina*, VI, pl. 25. Compare to soffit decoration; Underwood, II, pls. 333–34.

[222] Megaw, "Notes," 369–71; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, figs. 36–33, 35–34, 35–37.

[223] Megaw, "Notes," 371.

[224] Sender, *Byzantina*, VII, pls. 1, 2, 10, 22; Rüdell, pl. 25, for patterns.

[225] A. Xyngopoulos, *Hoi toichographies tou Hagiou Nikolaou Orphanou Thessalonikēs* (Athens, 1964), pls. 128, 129, 135, 157, 160.

[226] Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, 126.

[227] Belting et al., *Mosaics and Frescoes*, pl. xi; Xyngopoulos, *Hoi toichographies*, pl. 161.

traces of paint: the sculpted door lintel over the entrance in the naos was painted, as was the templon screen.

A large number of sculpted spoils were incorporated into the fourteenth-century decoration of the Kariye. Of the program of decoration executed for Metochites, actually very little original sculpture was included. The surviving pieces may be limited to the dome cornice monograms and the templon screen (Figs. 50, 57).[228] Whether original or spoils, these were never random insertions but were carefully thought out and exhibit a clear architectonic rationale, each well suited to its location. Among the reused pieces are the sixth-century false door panels that line the reveals of the minor entrance to the naos. These would have appeared awkward in a larger portal or if exposed on a wall surface, but work well within the north entrance, complementing the form of the door.[229] Similarly, a sixth-century lintel was used over the main entrance, but with a section from its center carefully removed in order for it to fit this location. Another lintel, perhaps originally a fragment of twelfth-century cornice, appears over the south inner narthex door. The mismatched capitals and columns of the entrance to the parecclesion are the only spoils that appear awkwardly used. However, the tribelon is incomplete and probably damaged in its present form. The coherent organization and incorporation of the templon frames of the naos make it difficult to determine whether these represent at least partial reuse of sculptural elements.

The use of sculpture, including spoils, was common at other Palaeologan sites. Finds have been well documented at the Lips Monastery and at Pammakaristos; however, very little was discovered in situ. At both, cornices and mullions were sculpted with either original or reused pieces.[230] As the Palaeologan period progressed, less original carving appears in the architectural monuments. Little is found at the Kariye; at Kilise Camii, none of the sculptural decoration may be original, and even the interior cornices may be spoils. Older capitals, columns, and parapet slabs were incorporated into the western portico facade and exonarthex. As at the Kariye, these elements were applied in a proper architectural context but have been mixed indiscriminately. Elements have been combined from a wide variety of sources, with mismatched capitals, bases, and parapet slabs side by side. The effect is somewhat busy, and lacks the sophistication of the Kariye.[231]

Most of the later sculptural additions at the Kariye are also coherently integrated into the existing structure. The arches over the western tombs of the parecclesion are additions, breaking the fresco decoration of the walls, but, because of the coherent arrangement, it is not immediately apparent that these were afterthoughts (Figs. 87–88). The tomb of the monk Demetrius in the inner narthex must have been similar to these (Fig. 104). While the forward projection of the wall surface is somewhat awkward here, it probably served a structural function, strengthening the unstable north wall. The extra columns and arch supports of the sixth bay of the exonarthex also show considerable care: even the cornice of the original wall surface has been extended to top the projecting columns and capitals (Figs. 116, 120). Presumably the height of the reused columns did not allow for the bases below. Nevertheless, while breaking up the exonarthex space, the inserted elements form a coherent unit, well adapted to the existing architecture.

As we have seen, the use of decoration on both the exterior and interior of the Kariye has been carefully thought out and integrated into an overall system, exhibiting a logic and restraint not evident in contemporary buildings. Occasionally, as with the narthex revetments or the ogival arches, the experimental tendencies of the architect emerge in the decoration. On the exterior, decorative elements are subordinated to the architectonic definition of the facades. While the facades are articulated in a boldly three-dimensional manner, the sculptural elements of the decoration were played down on both the interior and exterior in the initial construction. On the interior, the sculpture, revetments, and doorframes are each coordinated to the specific location. This restraint is complemented by the lavishness of painted decoration which included cornices, tie beams, and some sculptural elements, as well as the mosaics and frescoes, all of which combine to form an impression of undeniable splendor.

[228] Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," fig. C; such monogram roundels were not uncommon; very similar examples on a 10th-century door lintel survive at the Theotokos of Lips; see Macridy et al., "Monastery of Lips," pls. 14–15. Similar roundels appear at the H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki; see Rautman, *Church of the Holy Apostles*, pl. 16.

[229] For all of the sculpture noted here, see Hjort, "Sculpture," 202 ff.

[230] For the Lips Monastery, see Macridy et al., "Monastery of Lips," 269 ff, 303 ff; also C. Mango and E. Hawkins, "Additional Finds at Fenari Isa Camii, Istanbul," *DOP* 22 (1968), 177, 184. For the Pammakaristos see Mango and Hawkins, "Report on Field Work," 331–33.

[231] Eyice, *Son devir Bizans mimarisi*, figs. 175, 178–88. The Kalenderhane Camii of the late 12th century presents a similar attitude toward the use of spoils; see Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 174 ff, for illustrations.

Conclusion

Our examination of the architecture of the Kariye Camii, its early history, and its relationship to contemporary architecture yields a new understanding of this important monument. Although early remains are scanty, an analysis of the eleventh- and twelfth-century forerunners of the surviving building has demonstrated that these, too, were significant in the architectural development of the capital. Taking the planning, structural, and decorative concepts of the fourteenth-century Kariye Camii and contemporary monuments into consideration, a clearer picture of the concerns and development of Palaeologan architecture in Constantinople emerges. In addition, the special position of the Kariye Camii in that development becomes increasingly apparent. Its bold, experimental, and yet sophisticated solutions are a step beyond the other Palaeologan monuments of the capital.

The examination of the artistic milieu of Palaeologan Constantinople emphasizes the unique position of the Kariye. Rather than adhering to the "worn out" label so often given, the Kariye appears as a transitional monument, boldly experimental in nature, but with a coherent aesthetic basis. The earlier Palaeologan churches were constructed by an additive process, with the individual units and even the individual decorative features juxtaposed and often competing for prominence. At the Kariye a coordination of parts is sought, while allowing the individual units to maintain a certain degree of independence.[1] This differs significantly from architectural attitudes evident at the Lips Monastery, the Pammakaristos, or even the Kilise Camii where there is little attempt to unify the various features in plan. Like the Kariye, the individual elements of these buildings clearly express a hierarchy of function, but they lack a sense of coordination in the overall design.

To a certain extent the fourteenth-century Kariye may be viewed as an outgrowth of these earlier developments. The Kariye's additions share numerous similarities in construction, decorative details, and facade organization with the parecclesion of the Pammakaristos, suggesting that the two were constructed by the same workshop of masons. However, the balance between decorative details and architectonic elements is more careful and restrained at the Kariye, and its plan is more unified. At the same time, the plans and vaulting solutions are distinctly different in these two examples, indicating the eclectic nature of Palaeologan architecture. Similar construction and decorative details appear at the İsa Kapı Mescidi, the Bogdan Saray, and to a certain extent at the Tekfur Saray. Moreover, the builders of the Kariye appear to have been aware of

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[1] A similar development took place in the Middle Byzantine period with the addition and integration of subsidiary chapels; see Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance," 94–110.

the planning scheme and some of the decorative features of H. Iōannēs of Lips. Accordingly, the Kariye may be viewed as the second stage of Palaeologan architectural development in the capital. The Kilise Camii, which may be either contemporaneous or slightly later than the Kariye, shares numerous features but has not gained from the experiments in planning evident at the Kariye. Its construction and detailing are also much cruder, and these appear to be more closely related to H. Iōannēs of Lips.

All considered, the Kariye is nevertheless an architecture of compromise rather than of complete integration of components. Its planning and formal solutions are small-scale and localized, without a total relationship to the whole. The contemporary monuments of Thessaloniki, H. Panteleimon, the H. Apostoloi, and H. Aikaterini, appear at a similar stage of development as the Kariye. Without the special planning requirements of the capital, the ambulatories could be symmetrically disposed, but nevertheless the architects were struggling to coordinate the plans of the core with the outer spatial envelope and to create in the process a visually impressive result. In both Thessaloniki and Constantinople, the solutions are sophisticated and experimental, but not entirely successful, and a final synthesis was never reached. In contemporary Serbia, on the other hand, a similar phase of architectural experimentation found ultimate results in the church of Gračanica. Here one finds a synthesis of planning and formal concerns of the period.[2]

The phase of experimentation signaled by the Kariye in Constantinople was unfortunately stopped short of resolution by the declining fortunes of Byzantium. In the following decades, the empire wallowed in a quagmire of civil wars, military losses, and declining prosperity from which it was never to recover. Later architecture was much more modest in scale and, it seems, in quality. The Kariye represents the last significant monument of the brief flowering of Palaeologan architecture, a development cut short. Its bold innovation had no followers.

To leave the architecture of the Kariye Camii as a stillborn experiment, however, would be less than a just conclusion. A product of the highest level of patronage, its construction and decorative detailing are generally of superb quality. Taking into consideration the special functional requirements of the building, the decorative aesthetic oriented toward surface detail, and principles of planning that divided the building into individually articulated components which express its multiple functions, we arrive at an approach toward architecture which not only allowed but perhaps encouraged irregularities. The guiding principles of Palaeologan architecture must be recognized as quite different from the rational, structural approach of the Middle Byzantine period. Throughout our examination, a close association of architect and artist has been suggested. This association extends beyond the planning irregularities or choice of vaulting types. In fact, the same aesthetic basis can be seen in the architecture as has been recognized in the painted decoration.

Concerning the style of the mosaics and frescoes of the Kariye, Otto Demus writes: "At first glance it seems, indeed, as if Palaeologan art had no acknowledged canons whatsoever; as if the painters of this period had simply preferred the abnormal to the normal, the distorted to the regular, the chaotic to the harmonious. On closer scrutiny, however, one discovers the existence of a canon of taste no less well defined than that of the art of European Mannerism against the art of the Renaissance."[3] In the compositions, decoration is used to join otherwise disparate elements, with much adjustment to fit irregular spaces. The tendency is toward the disintegration of the composition; equilibrium is replaced by asymmetry, instability, and unrest.[4] There are dramatic changes in scale as well as relationship to the viewer, who is confronted with an overlapping sequence of images and narratives.

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[2] Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, esp. 114–22 and pls. 20, 102.

This evaluation could just as easily be applied to the architecture of the Kariye. In both painting and architecture, the artist is composing on a small scale, with individual bits and pieces coordinated by a decorative veneer. Symmetry was not a major concern, and deviations from the norm take on an artful sophistication, with opulent, irregular spaces and surprising vistas, calculated to delight the eye and mind alike. On the facades of the building, irregularities vanish behind the pastel shades of brick and stone, the decorative patterns, the dynamic plasticity of the articulation, and the coloristic effects of light and shade—all topped by the undulating rhythms of the scalloped roofline and domes. On the interior, the lavish surface coverings counterbalance the formal irregularities in a similar manner. The architecture of the Kariye should, therefore, be viewed as a product of a well-defined aesthetic similar to the so-called "mannerist" phase in the art.

By all indications, the working situation at the Kariye was ideal for both painter and builder. The patron was sophisticated, learned, and presumably personally involved with the project. Above all, he was extremely rich. For the painter, this provided "hothouse conditions" at a critical phase in Byzantine art.[5] The same holds true for the builders. At the Kariye, the numerous concerns of Palaeologan architecture reached a new synthesis. Like the mosaics and frescoes enclosed within, the architecture of the Kariye Camii signaled a new era. It was at once the beginning and the end of the short-lived, last phase of Byzantine architectural development in the capital.

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[3] Demus, "Style of the Kariye Djami," 111.

[4] Ibid., 109 ff. The effete, self-conscious, and tormented style of Theodore Metochites' writing might be similarly defined; see Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 19–24, 37–43.

[5] Demus, "Style of the Kariye Djami," 110.

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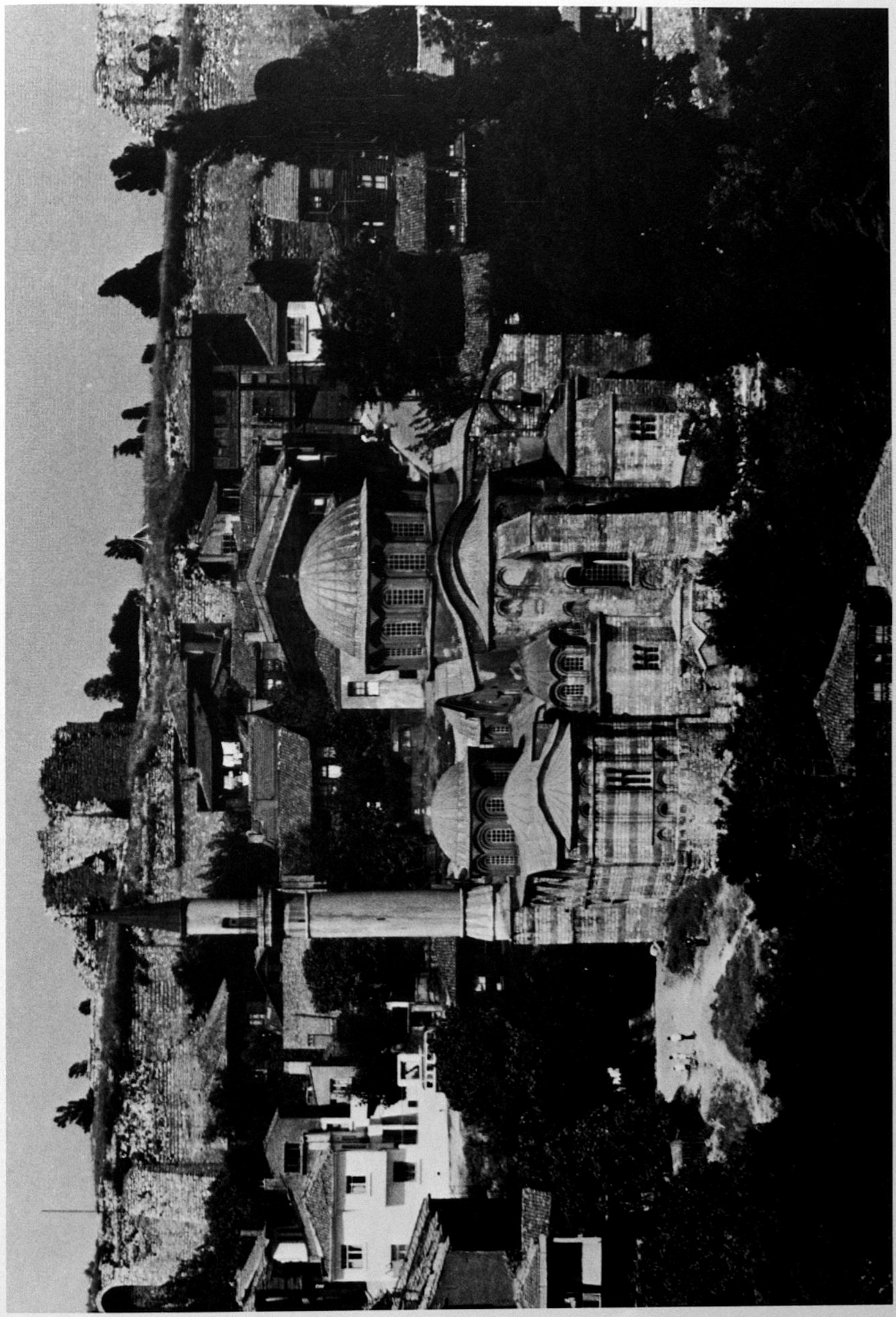
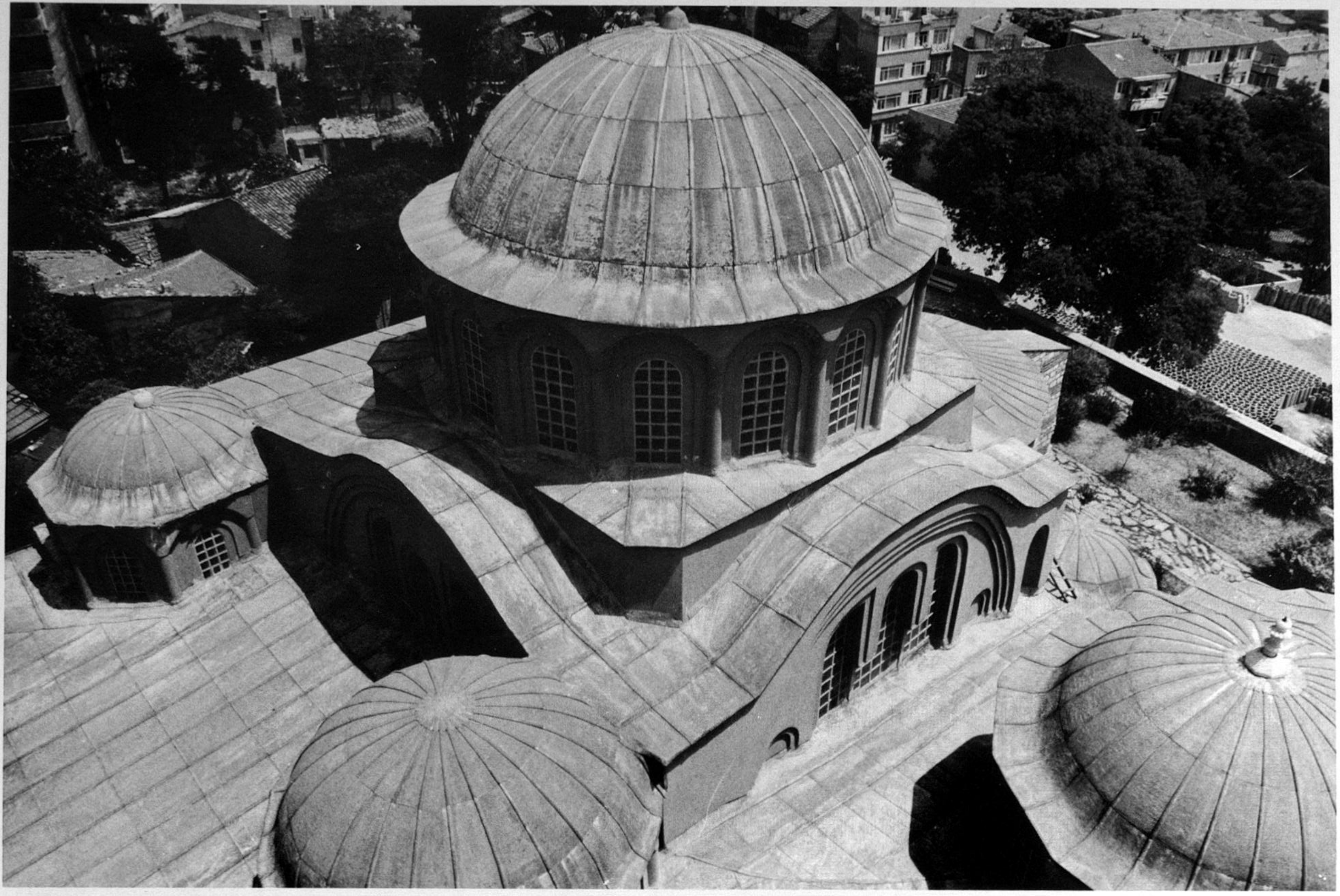
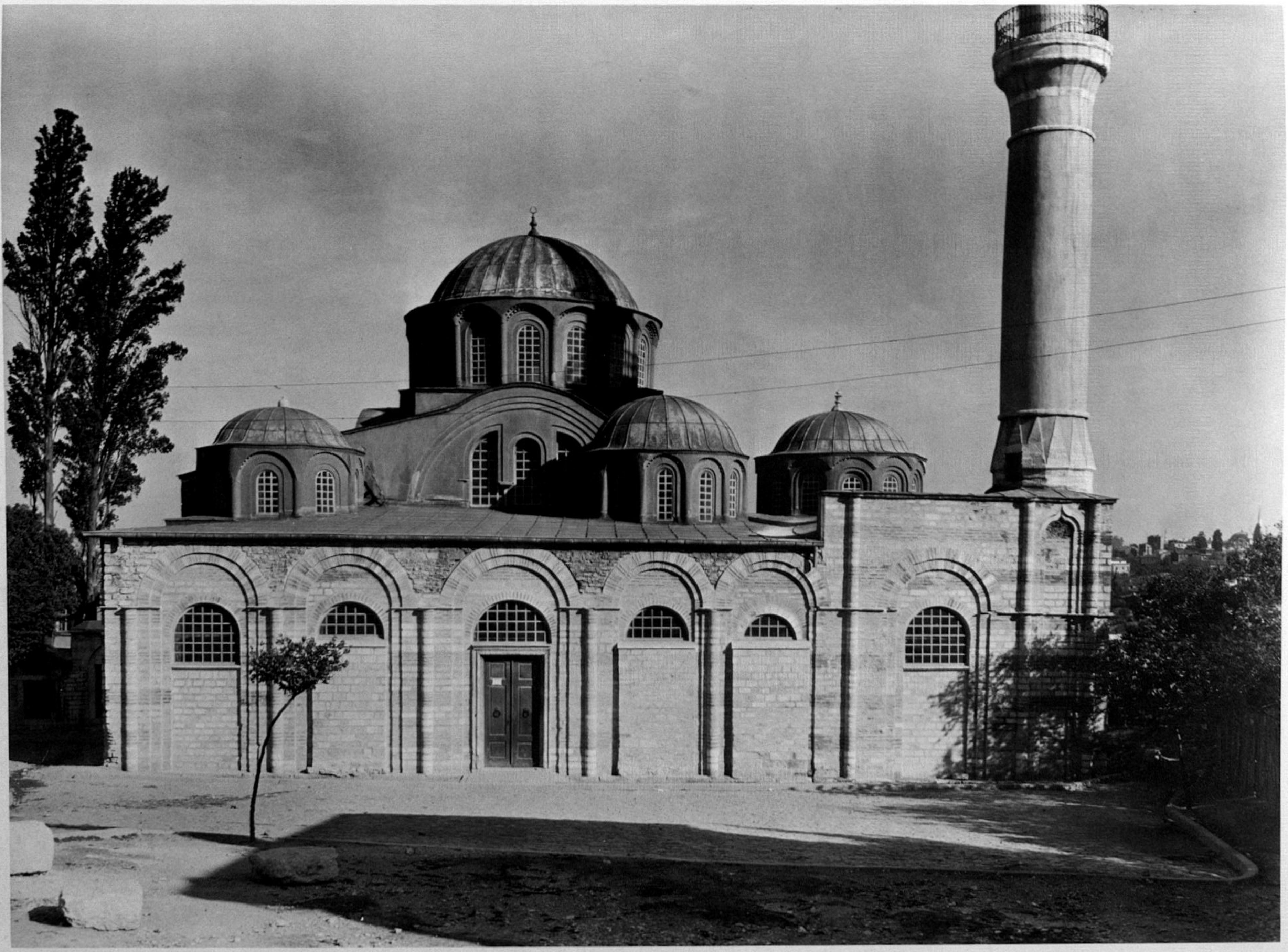


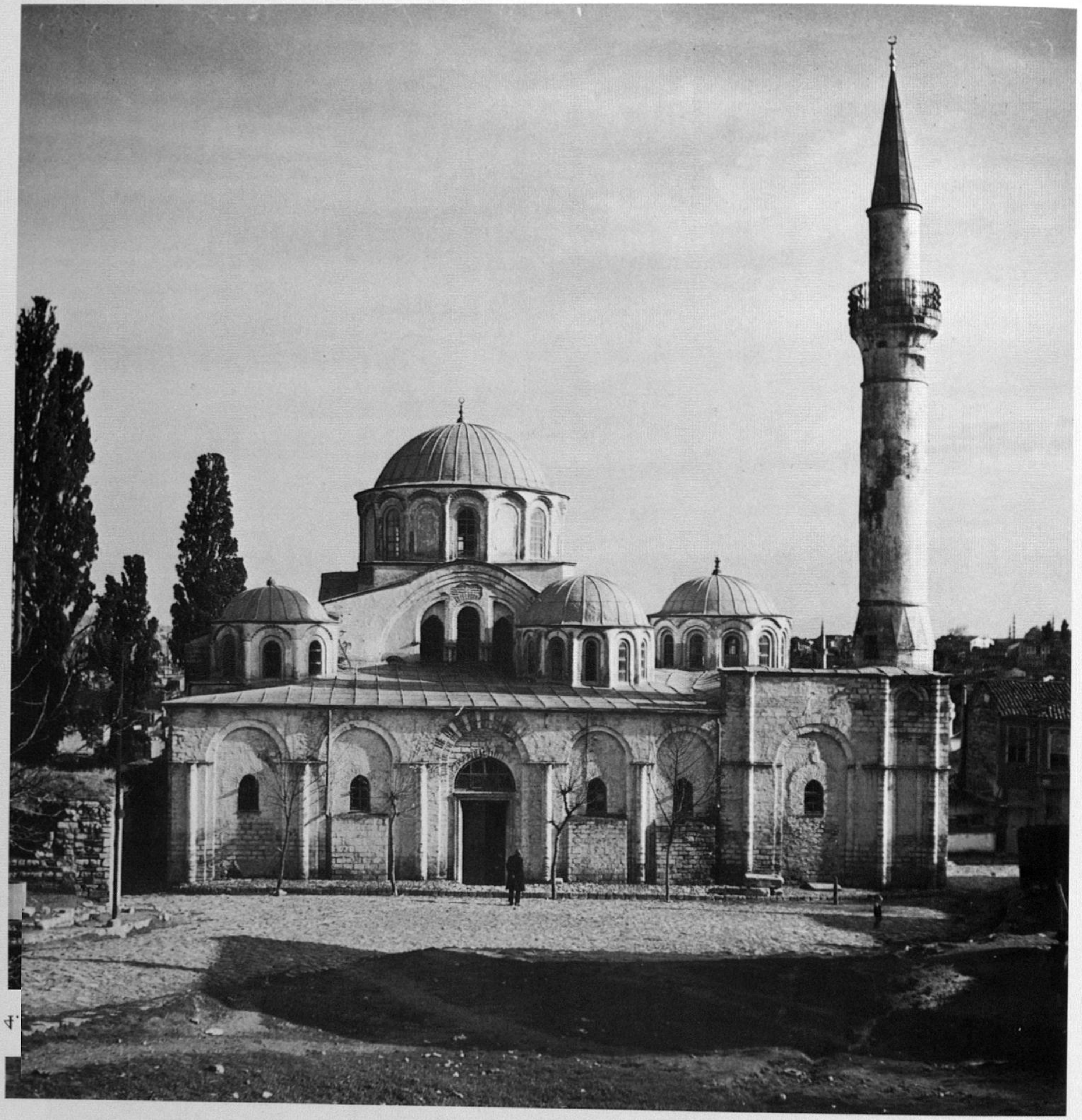
1. From east, distant view



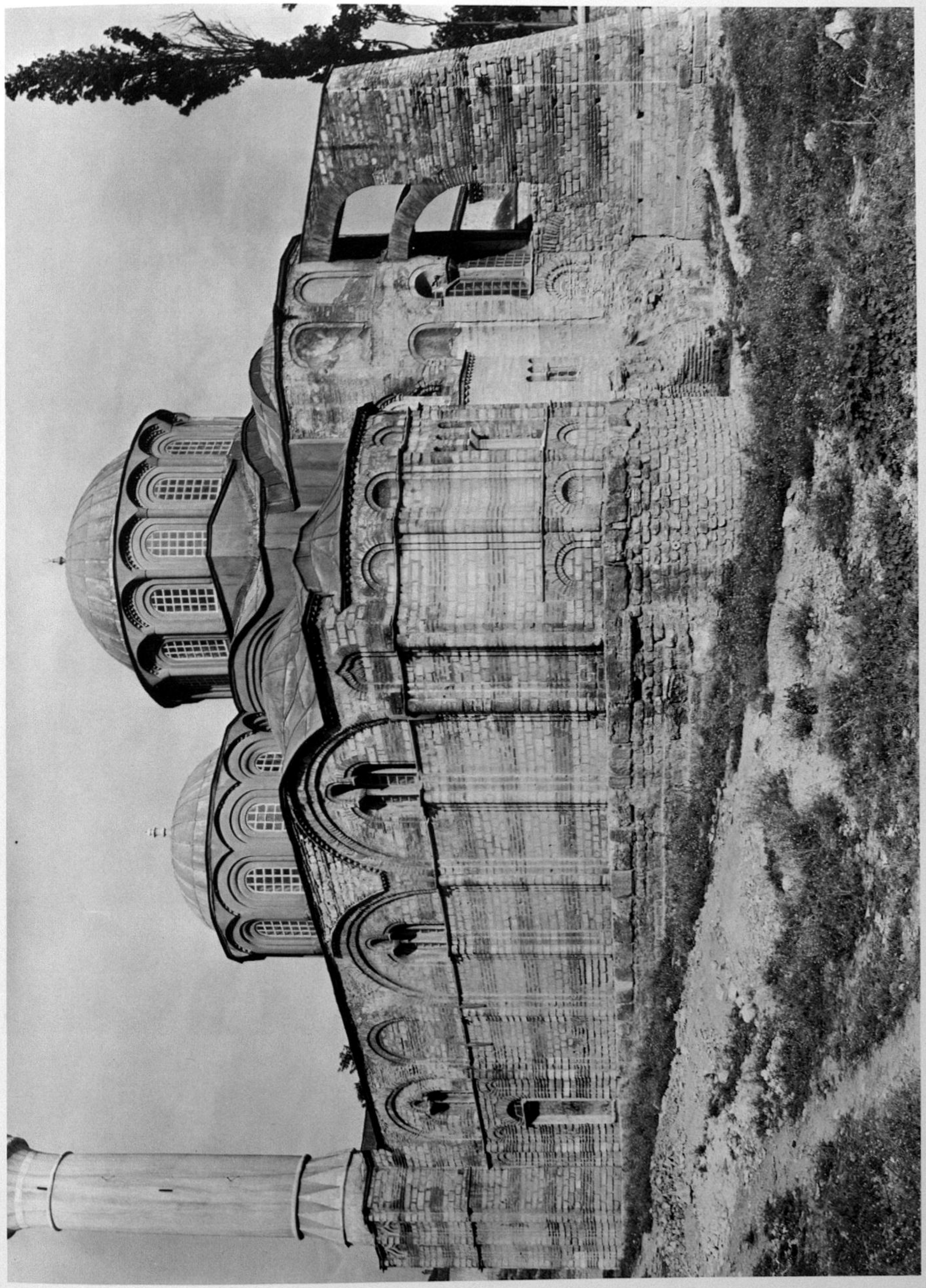
2. Roof and domes from minaret



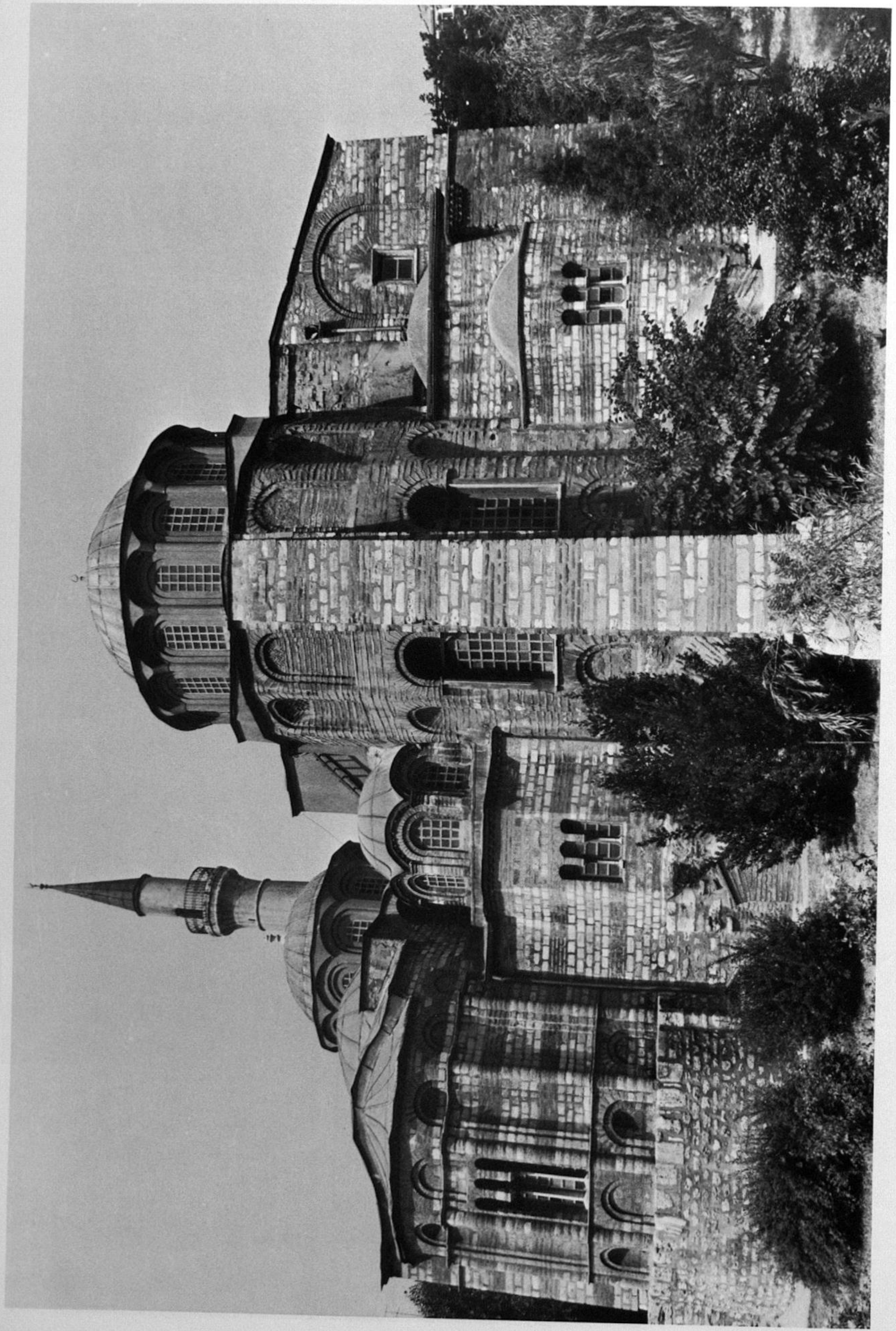
3. From west



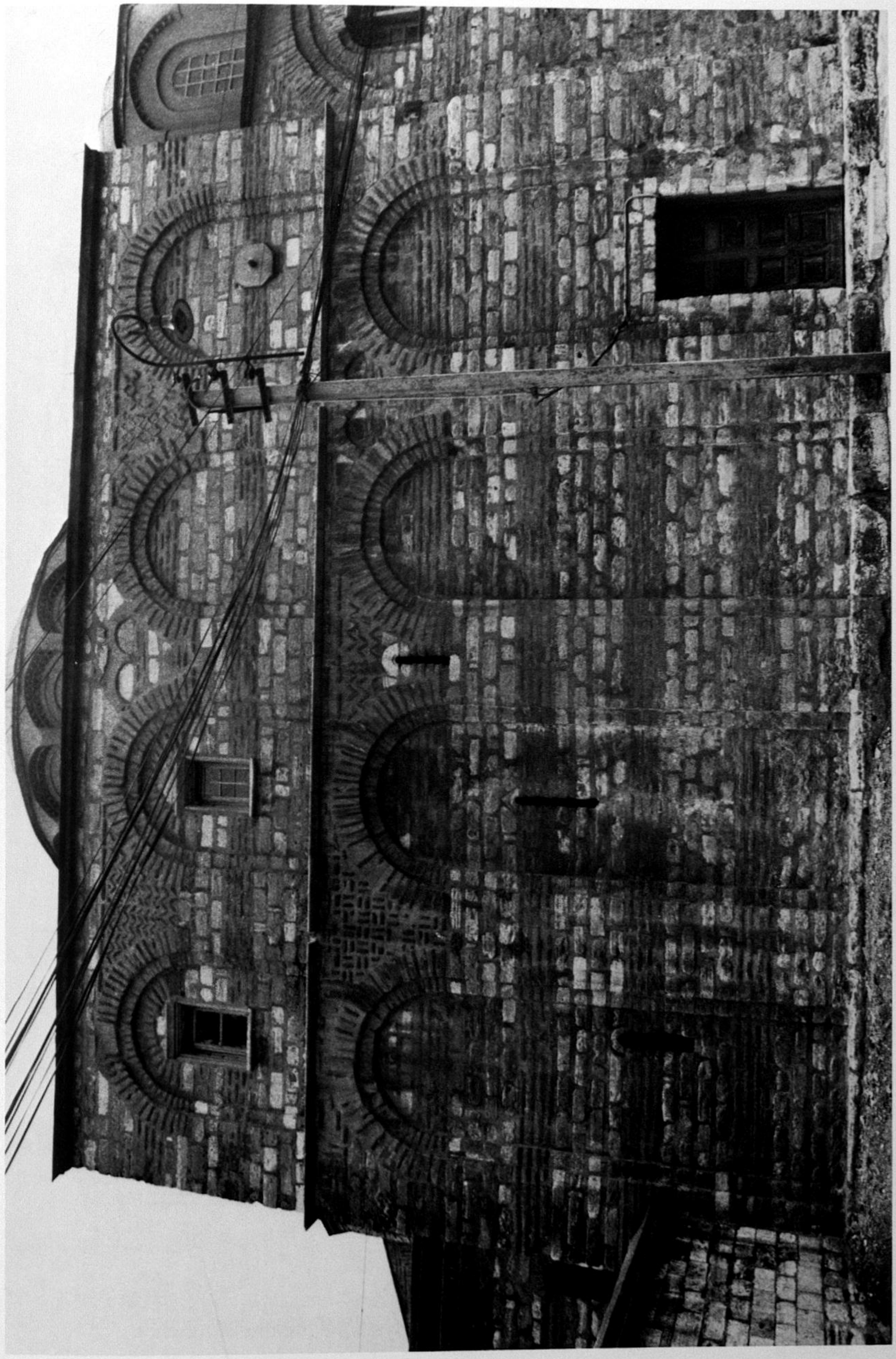
4. From west before restoration



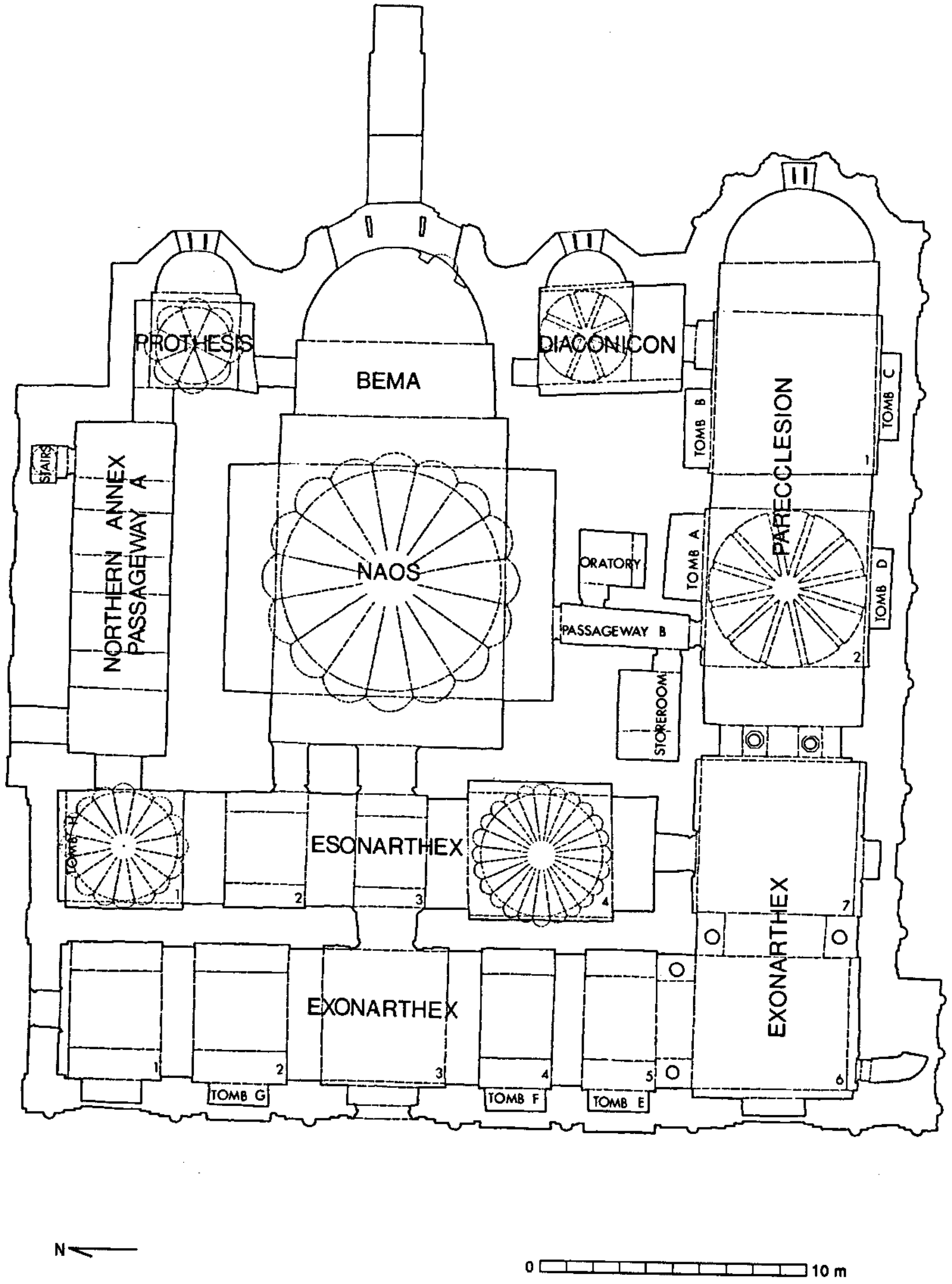
5. From southeast



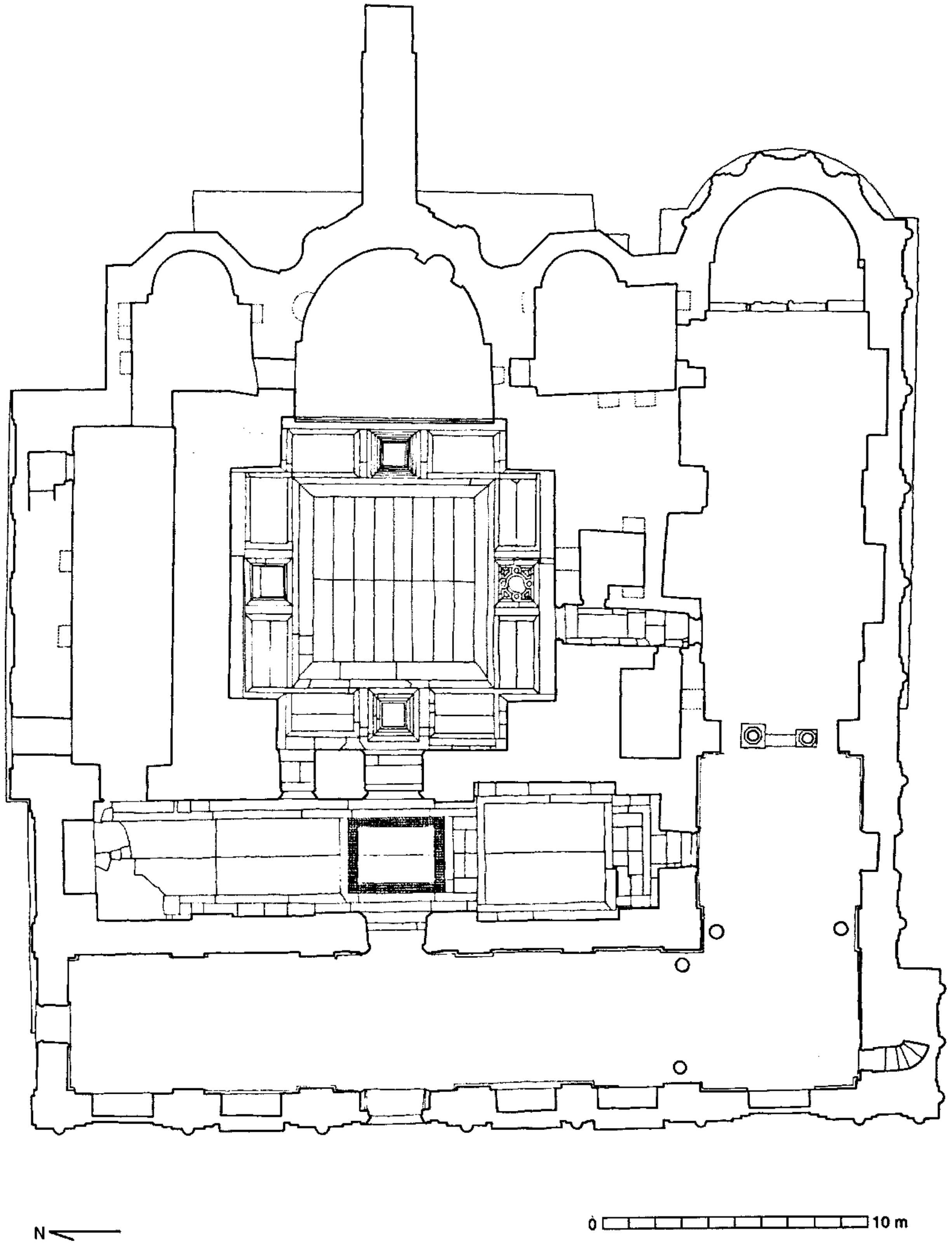
6. From east



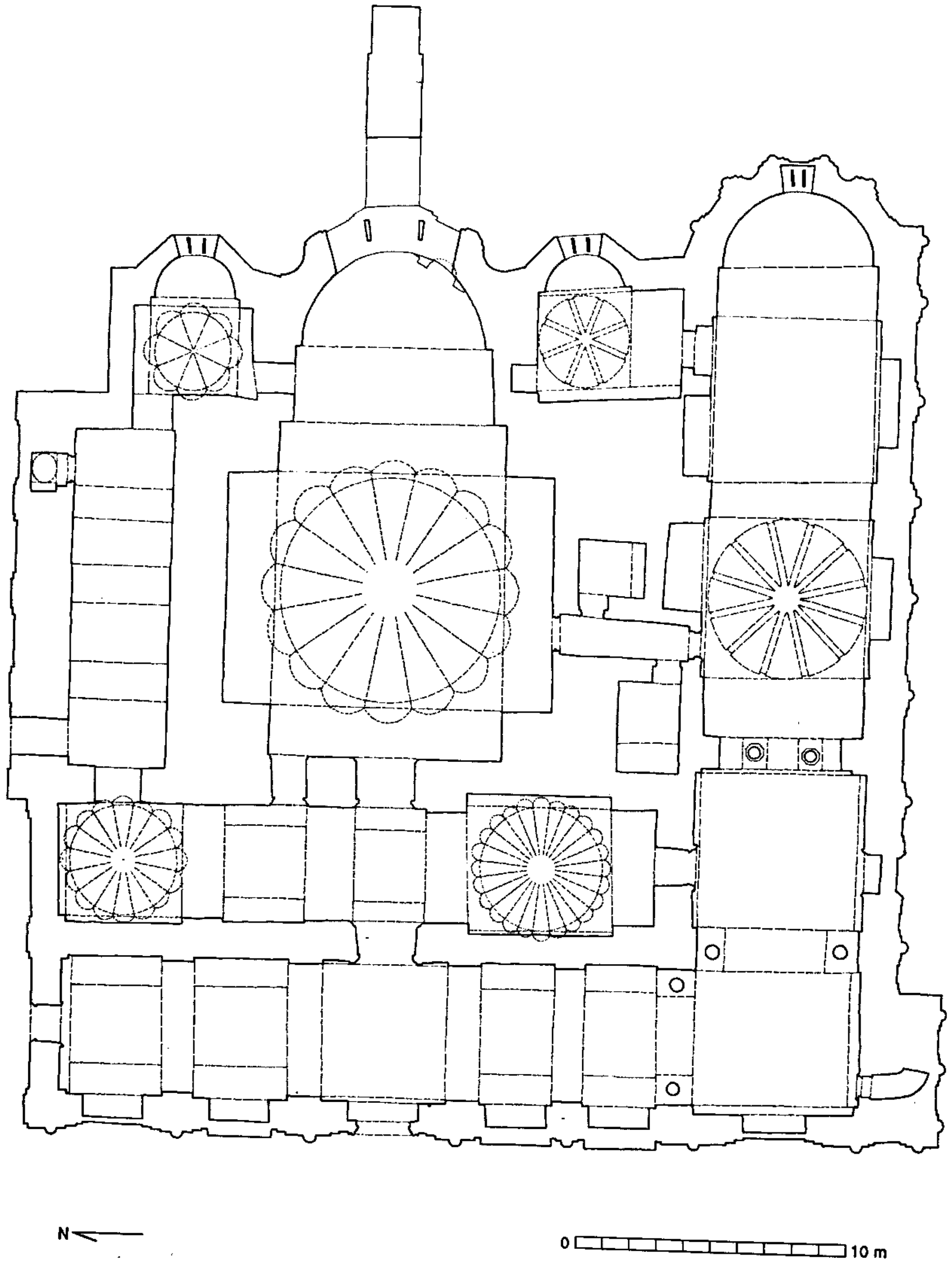
7. From north



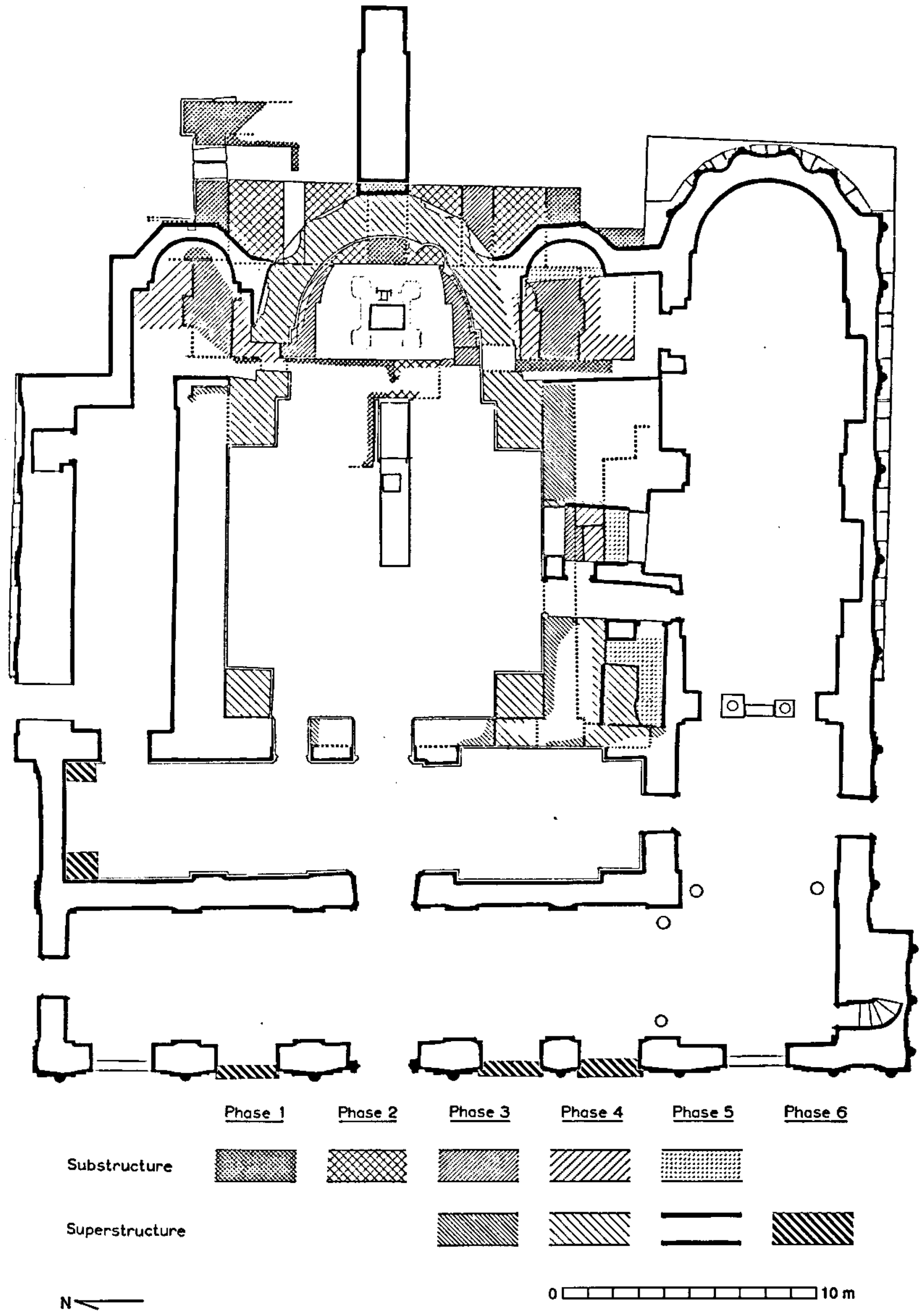
8. Plan. Identification of components (redrawn after Byzantine Institute of America [B.I.A.])



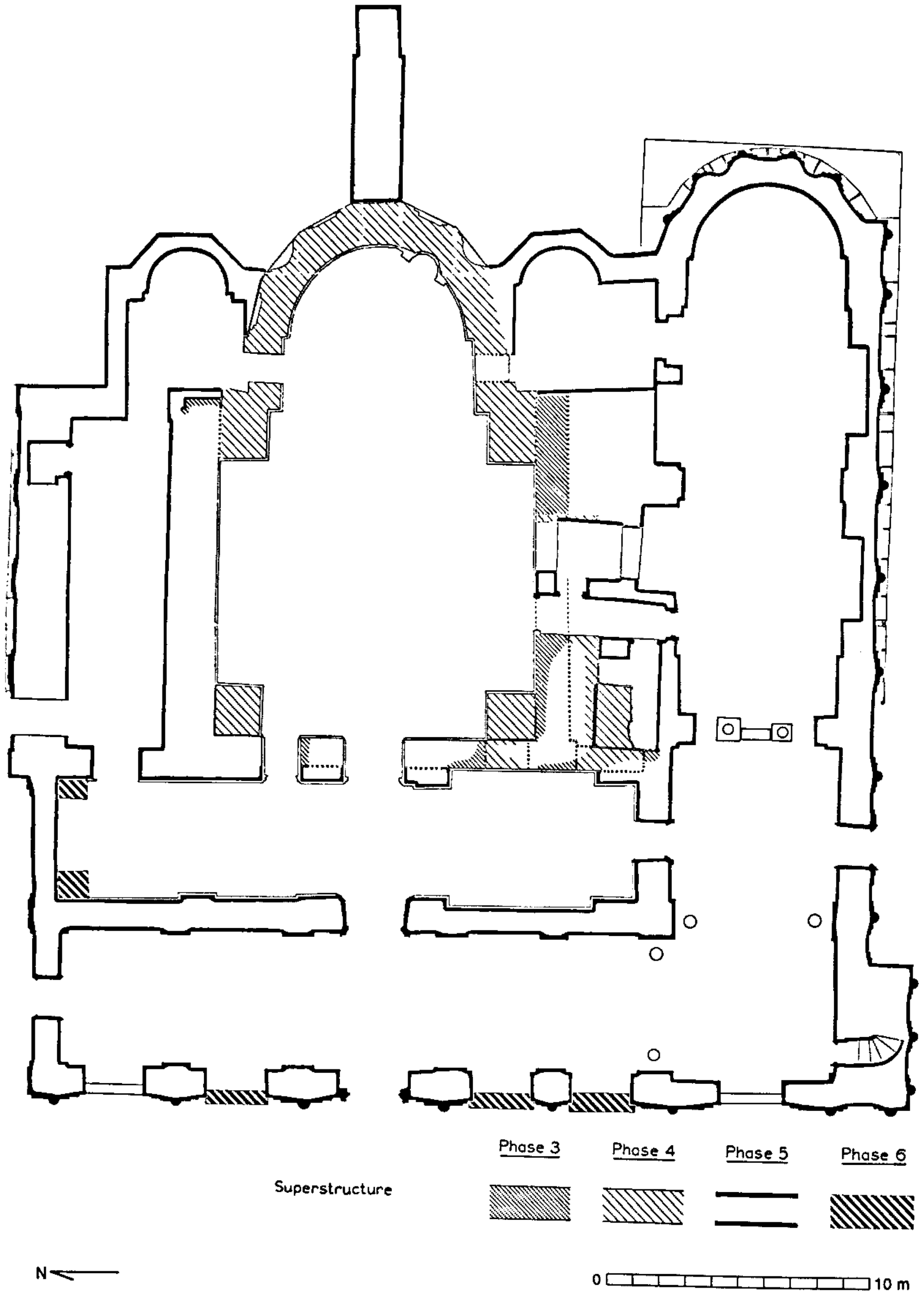
9. Plan. Ground level (redrawn after B.I.A.)



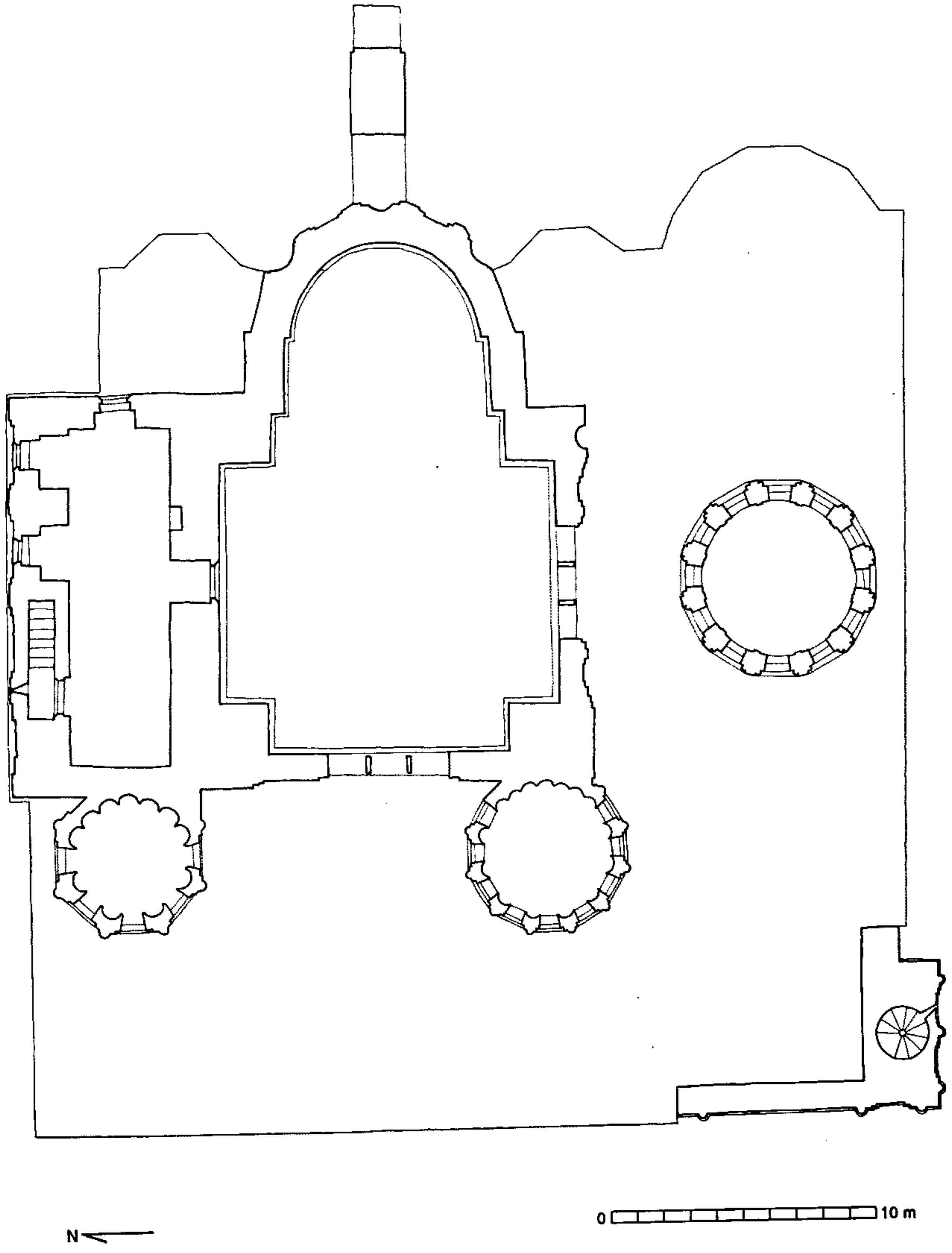
10. Plan, indicating vaulting (redrawn after B.I.A. and Underwood)



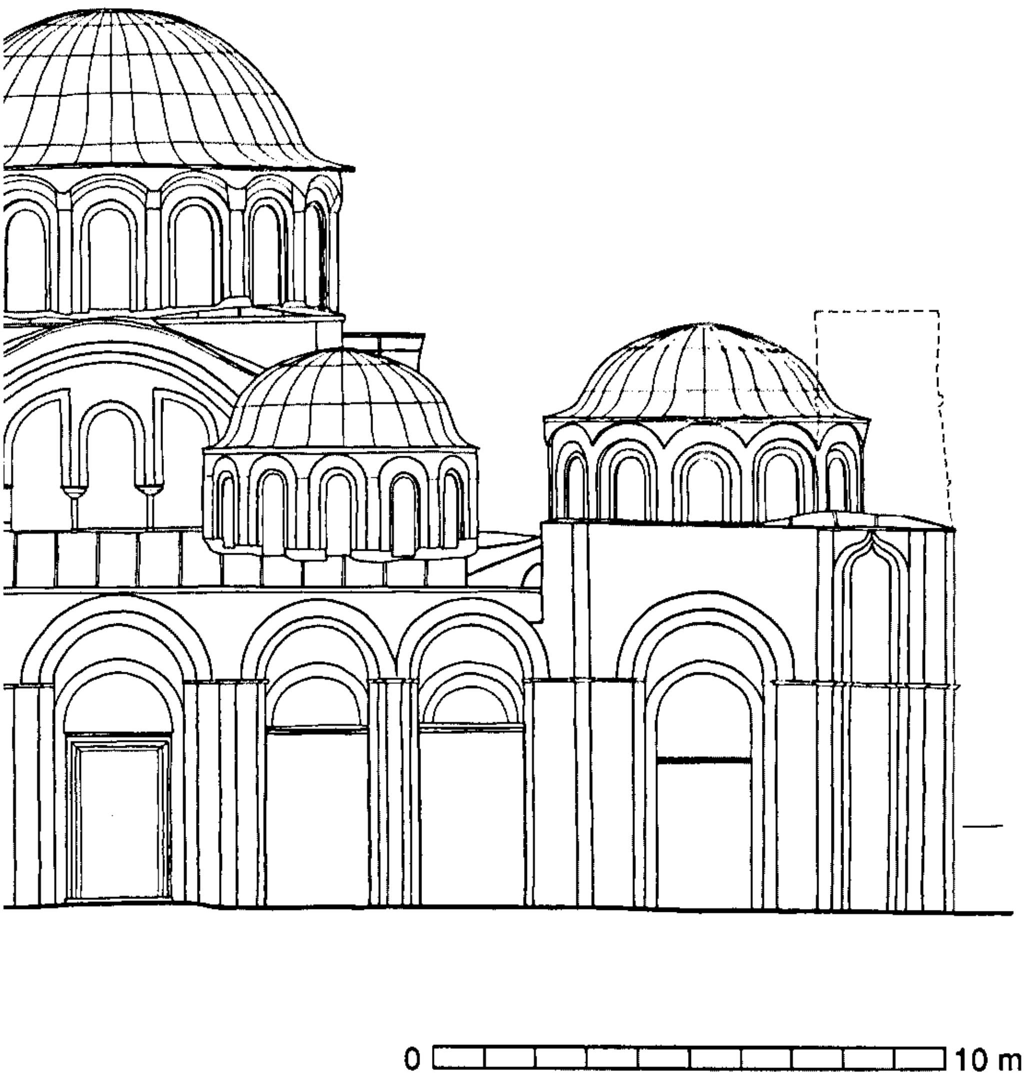
11. Plan, indicating construction phases (after Oates)



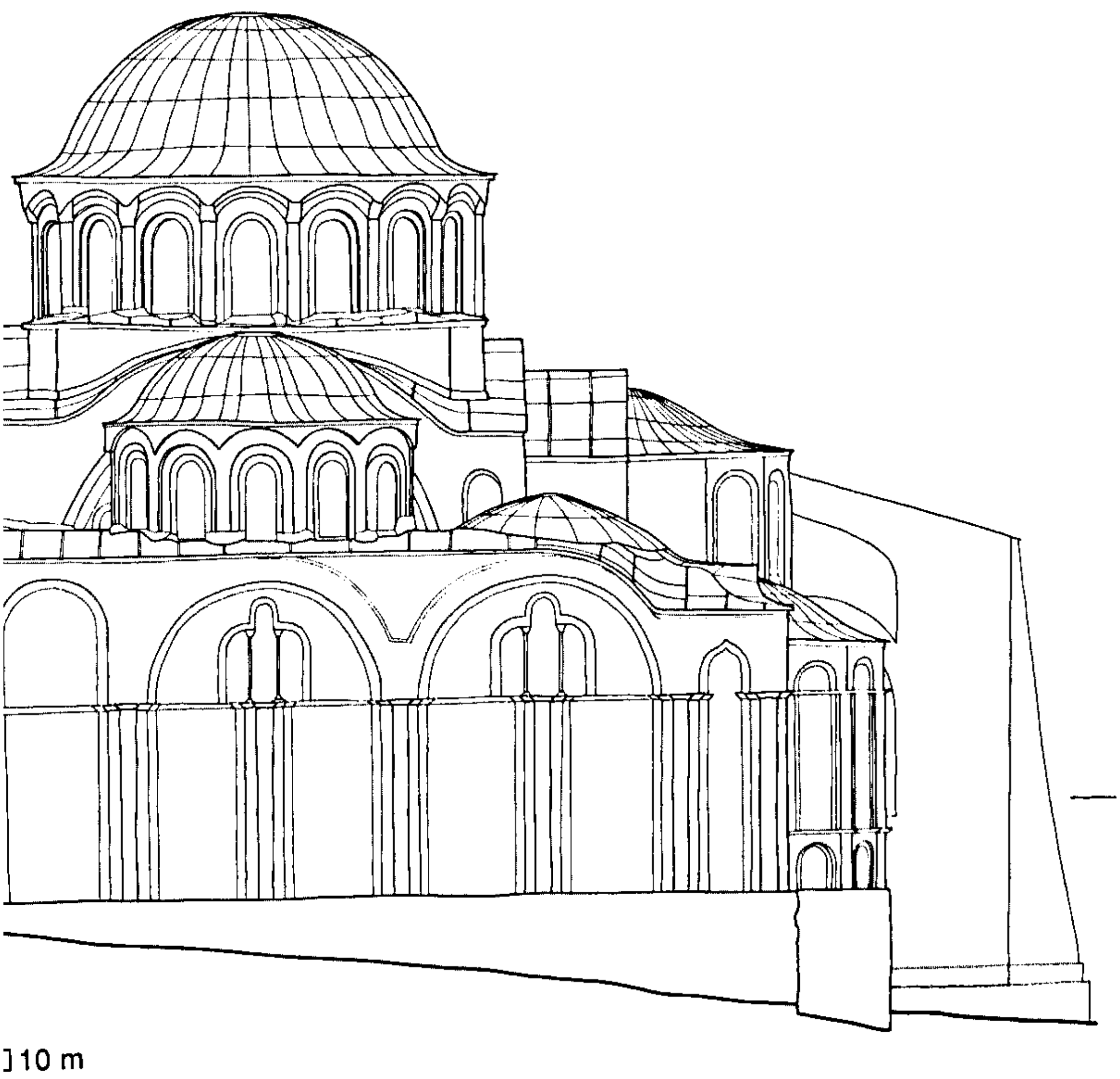
12. Plan, indicating construction phases in superstructure (redrawn after Oates)



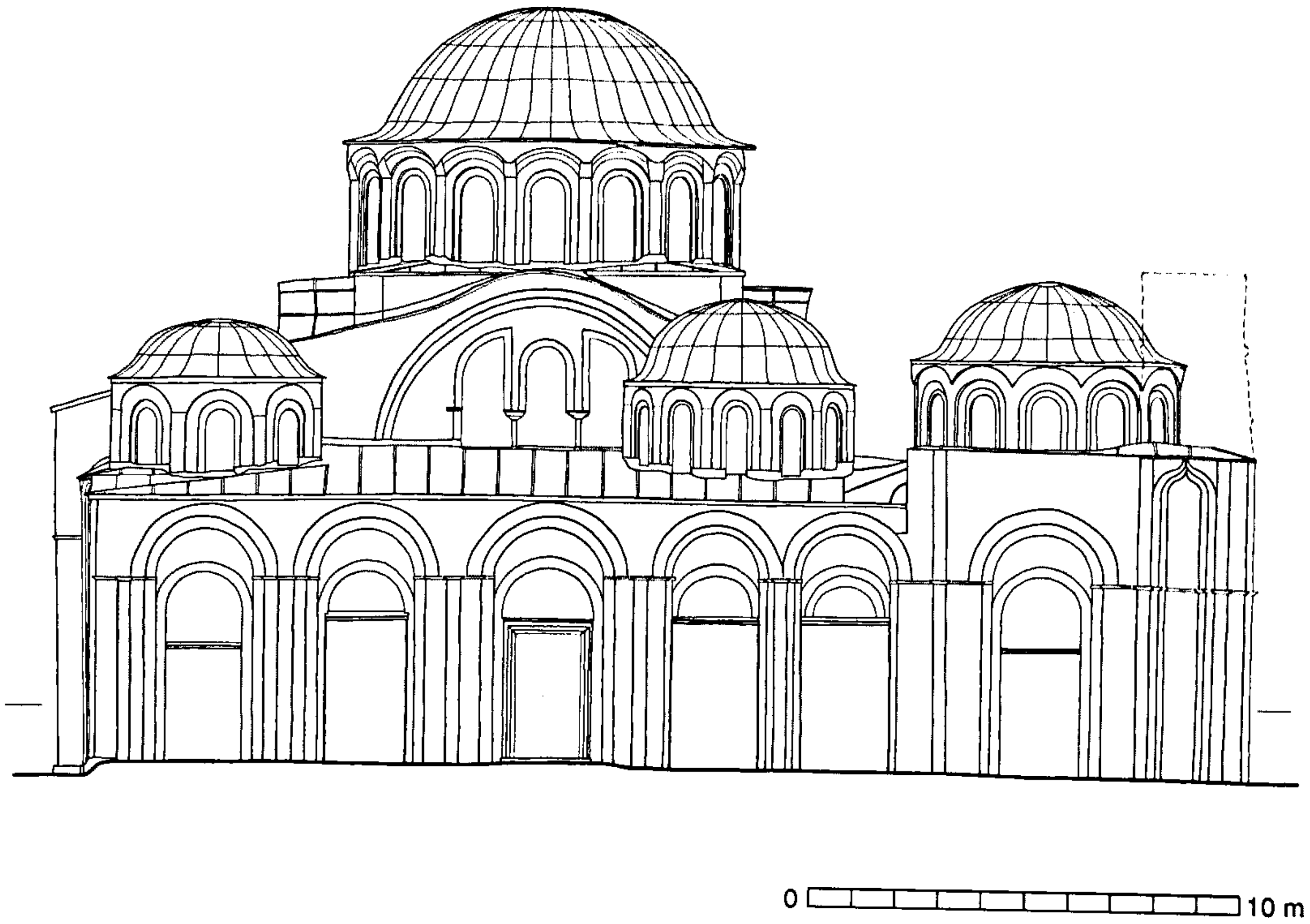
13. Plan, gallery level (redrawn after Rüdell)



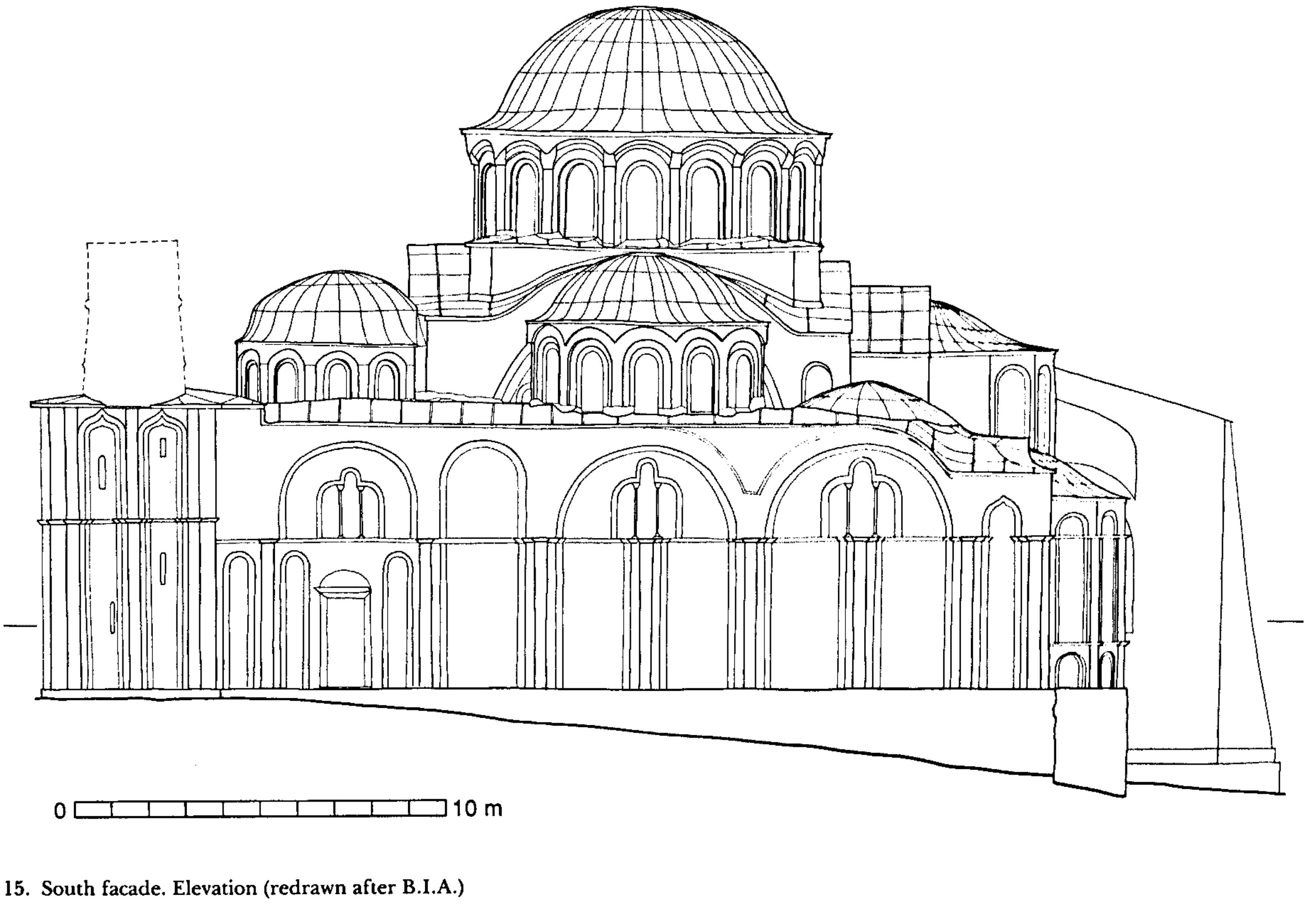
B.I.A.)



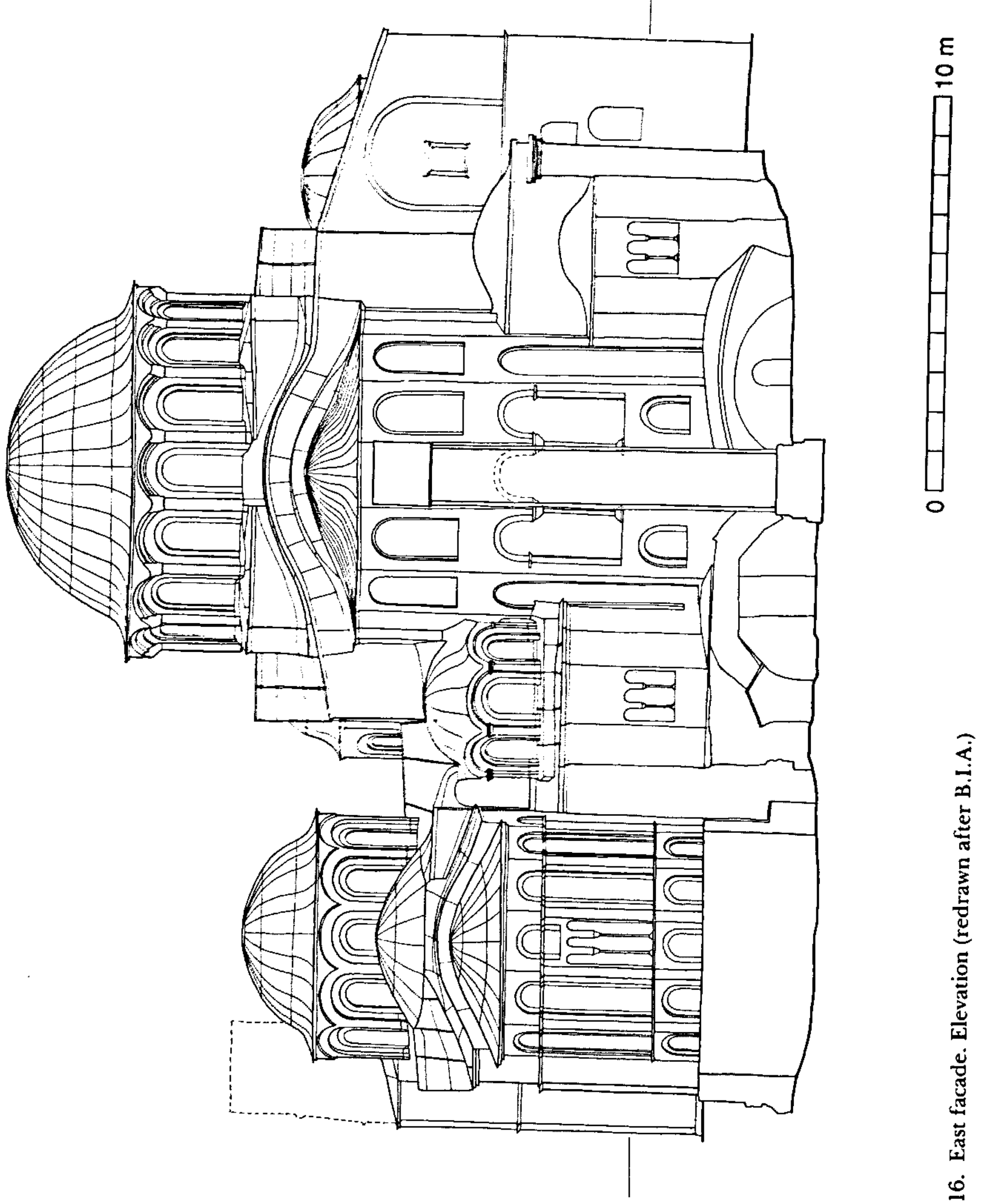
A.)



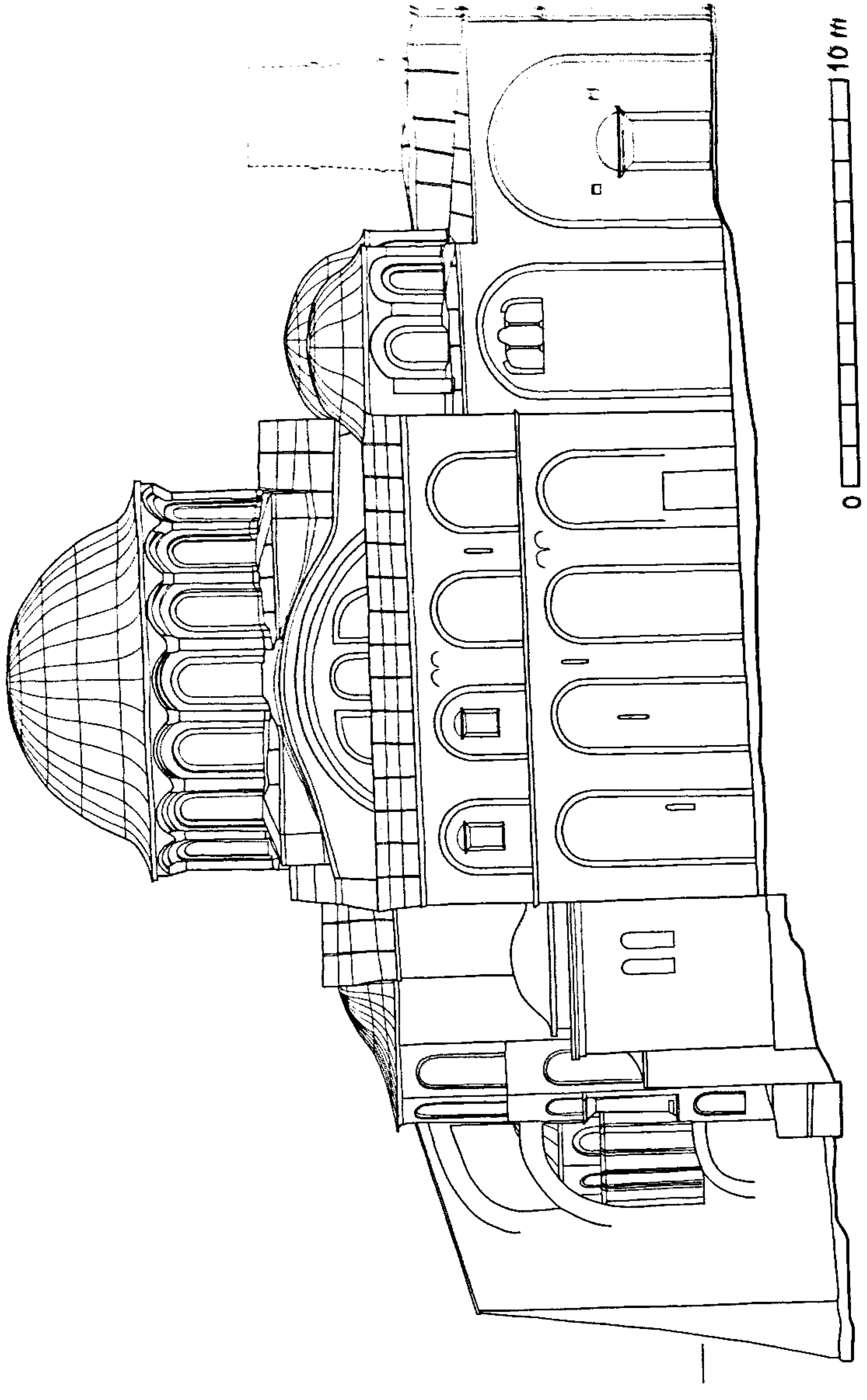
14. West facade. Elevation (redrawn after B.I.A.)



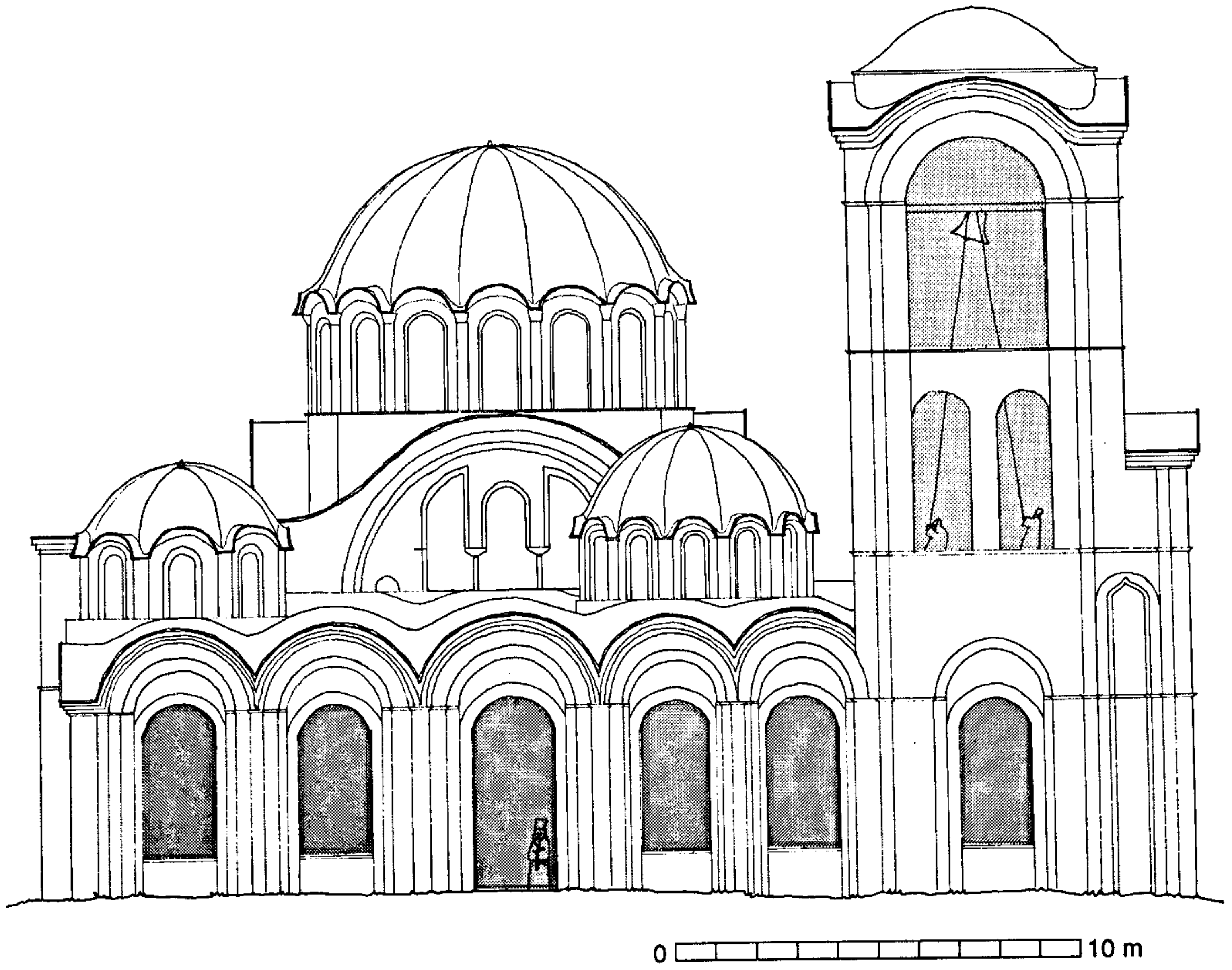
15. South facade. Elevation (redrawn after B.I.A.)



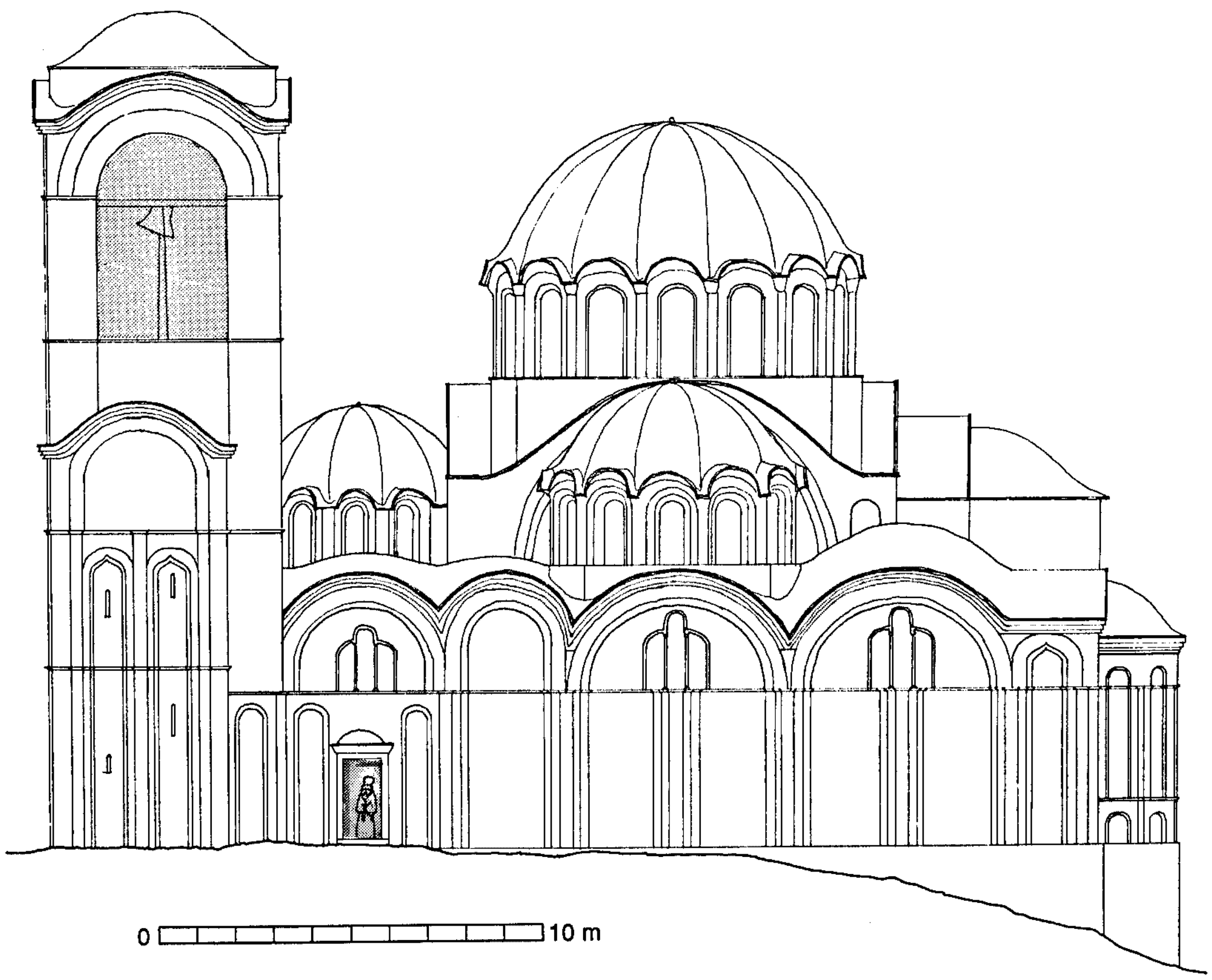
16. East facade. Elevation (redrawn after B.I.A.)



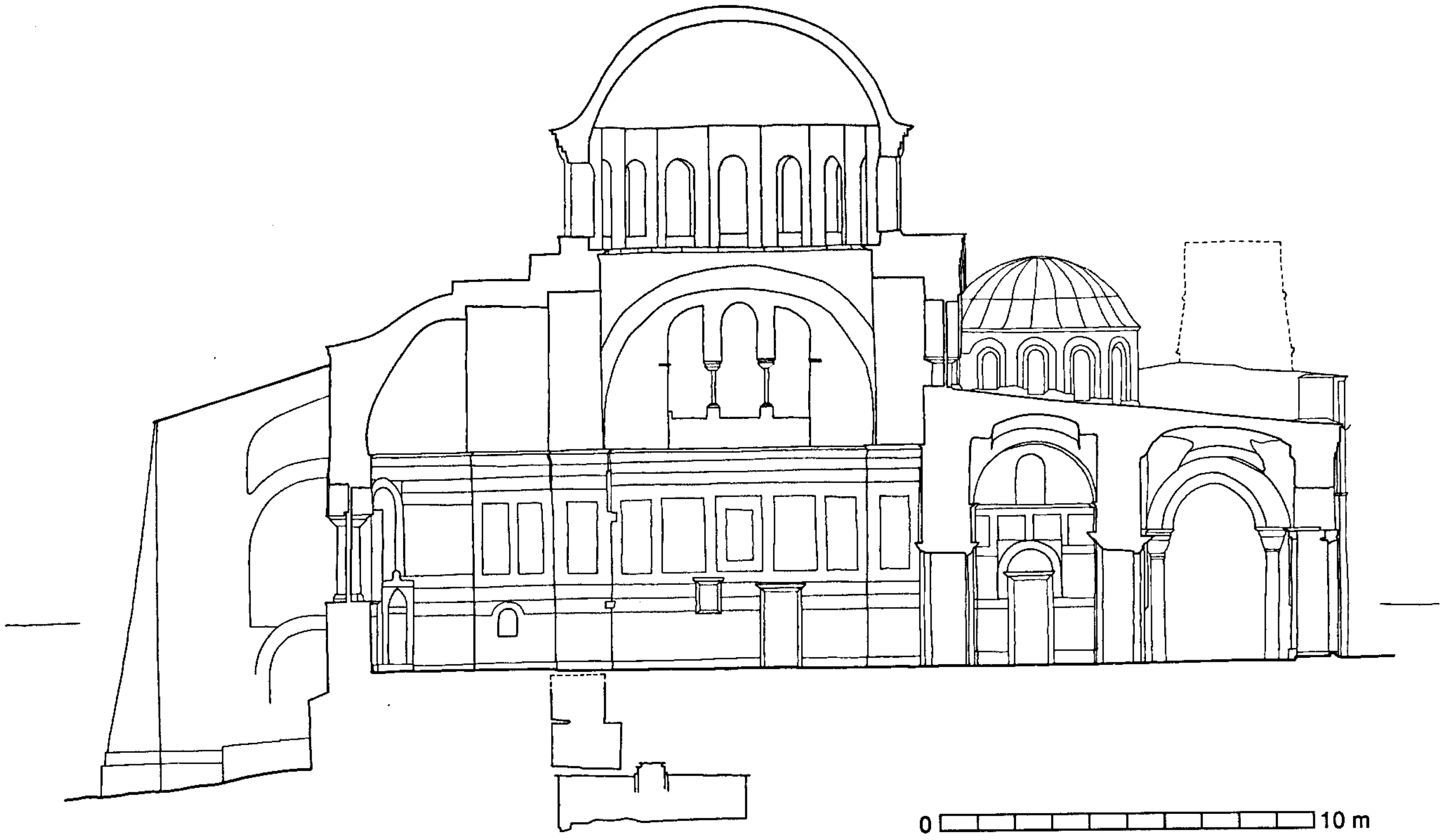
17. North facade. Elevation (redrawn after B.I.A.)



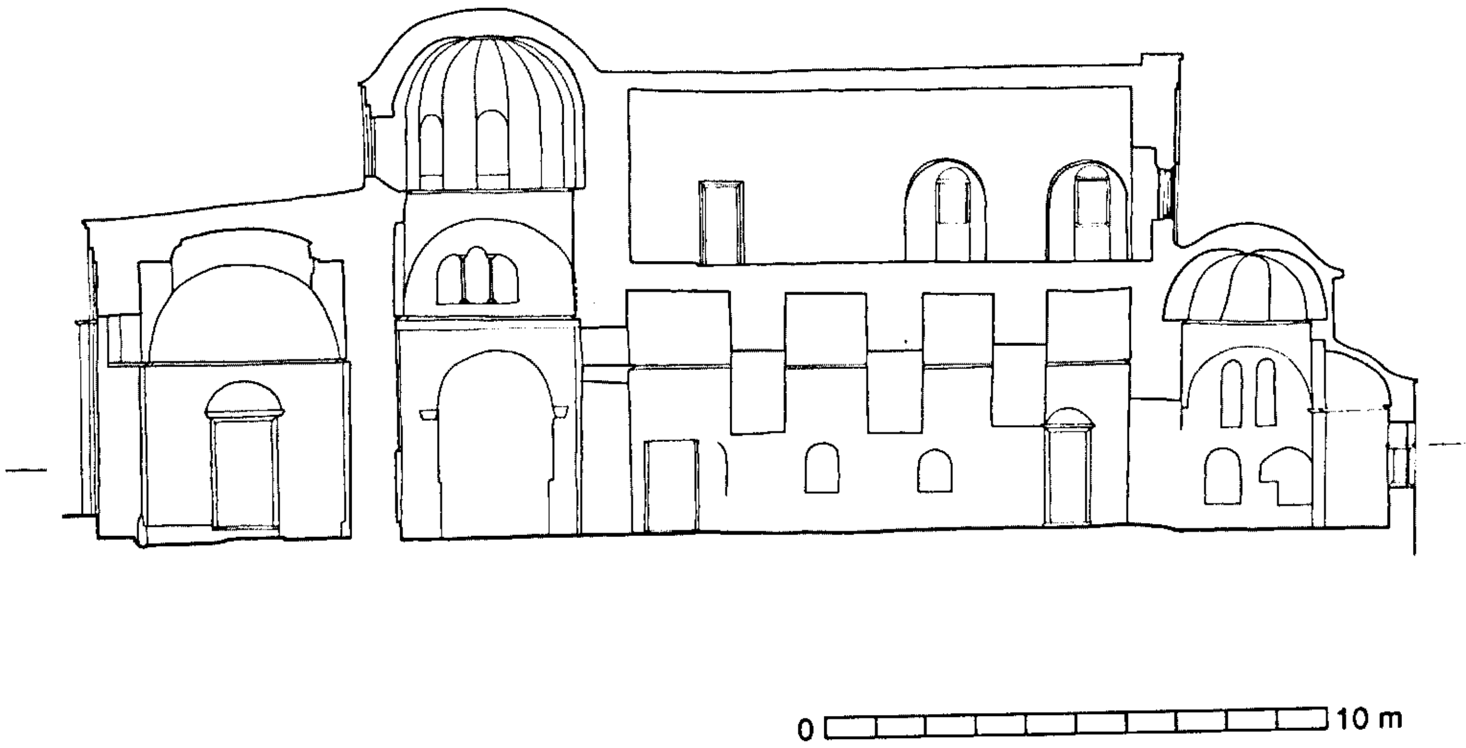
18. West facade. Hypothetical reconstruction



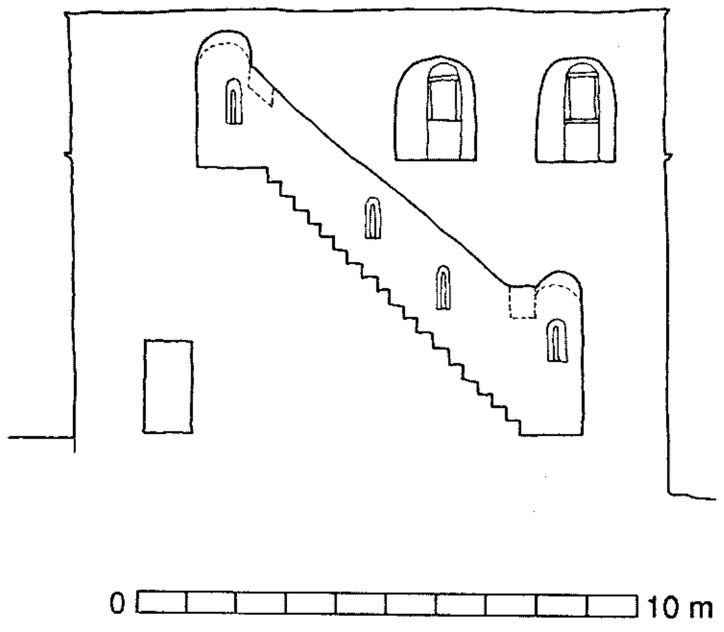
19. South facade. Hypothetical reconstruction



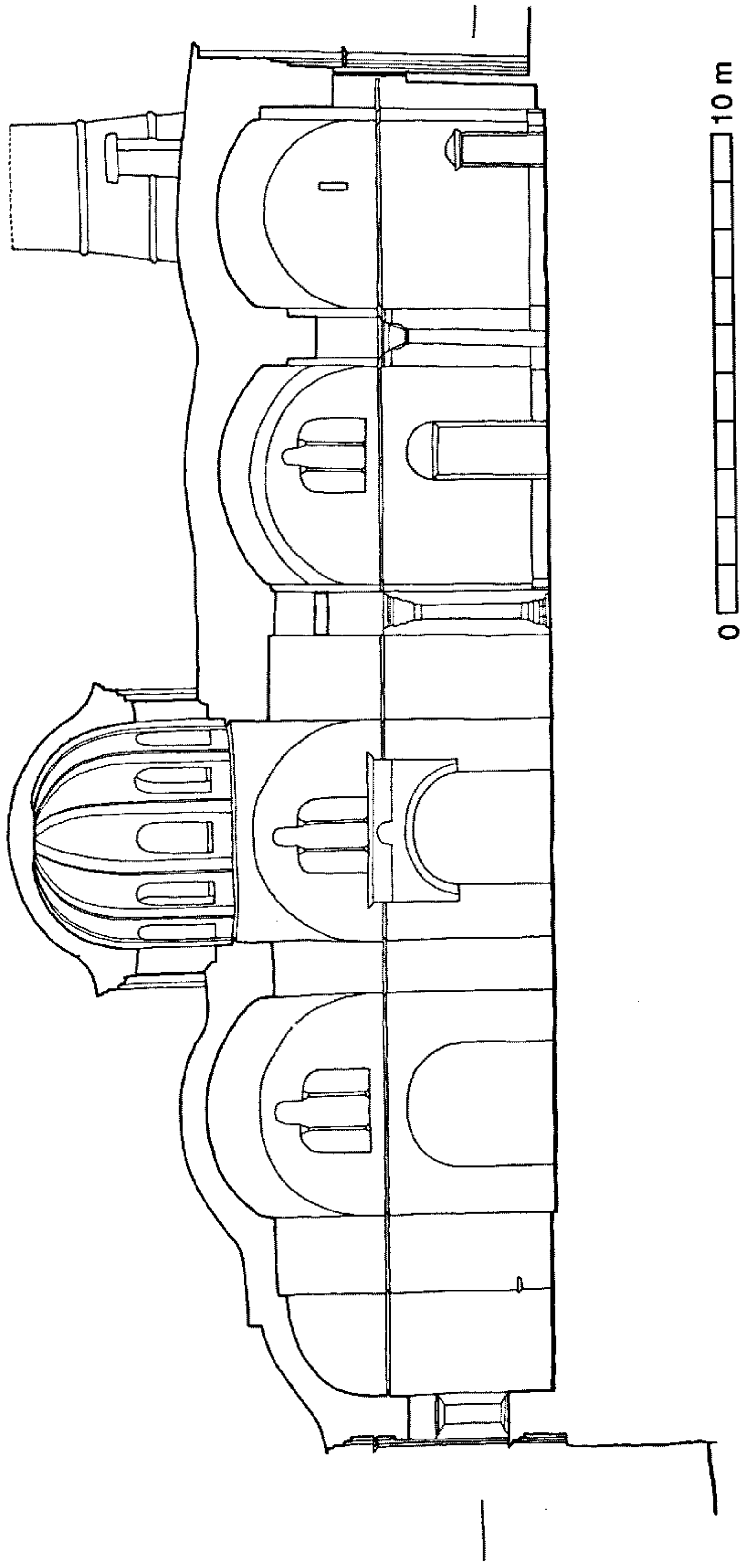
20. Longitudinal section through naos, looking south (redrawn after B.I.A.)



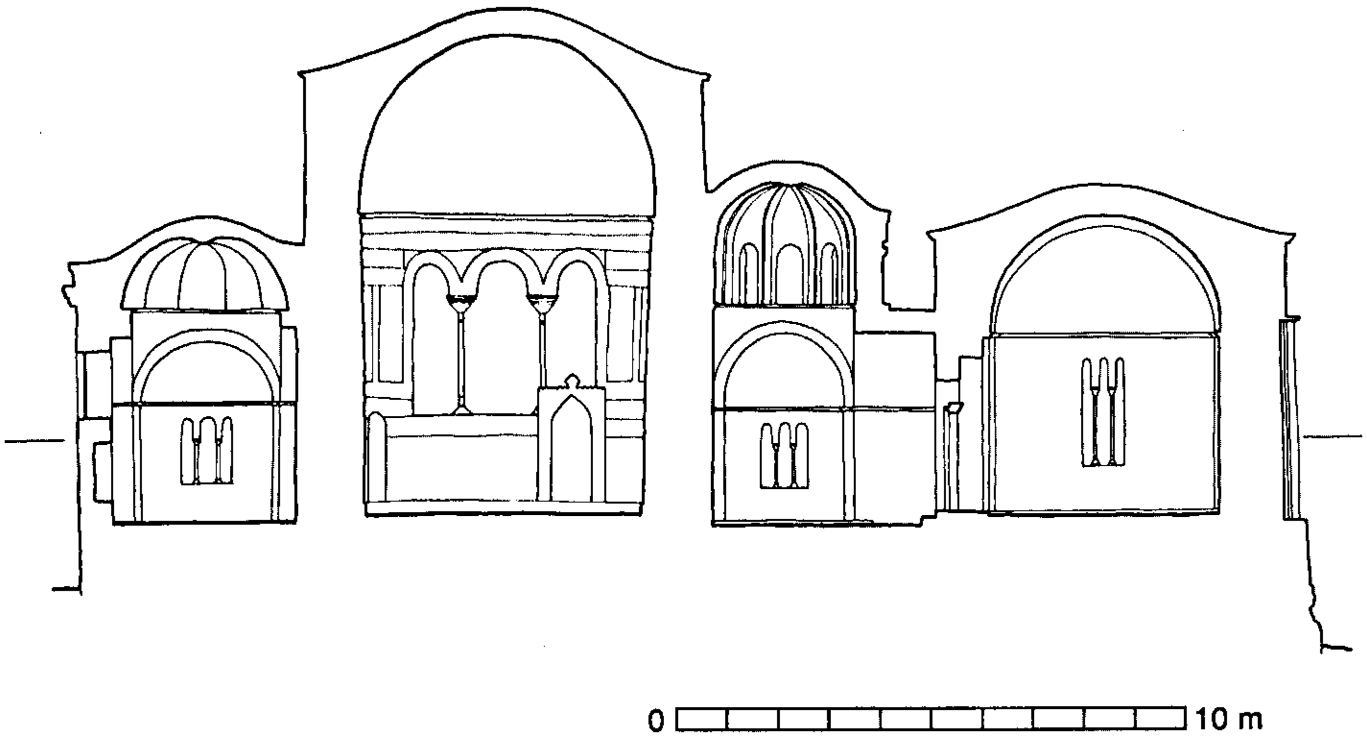
21. Longitudinal section through north annex, looking north (redrawn after B.I.A.)



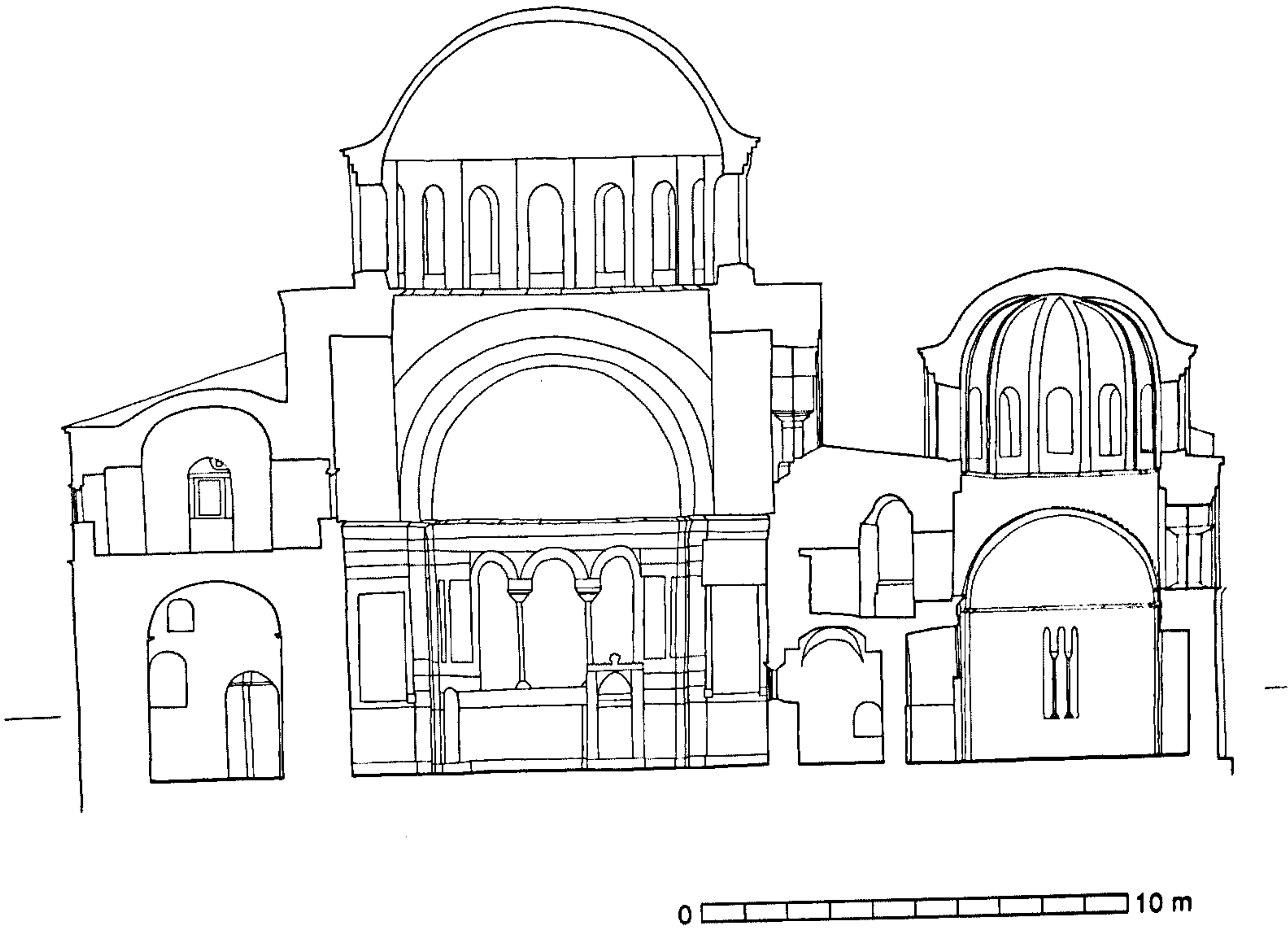
22. Longitudinal section through north annex staircase, looking north



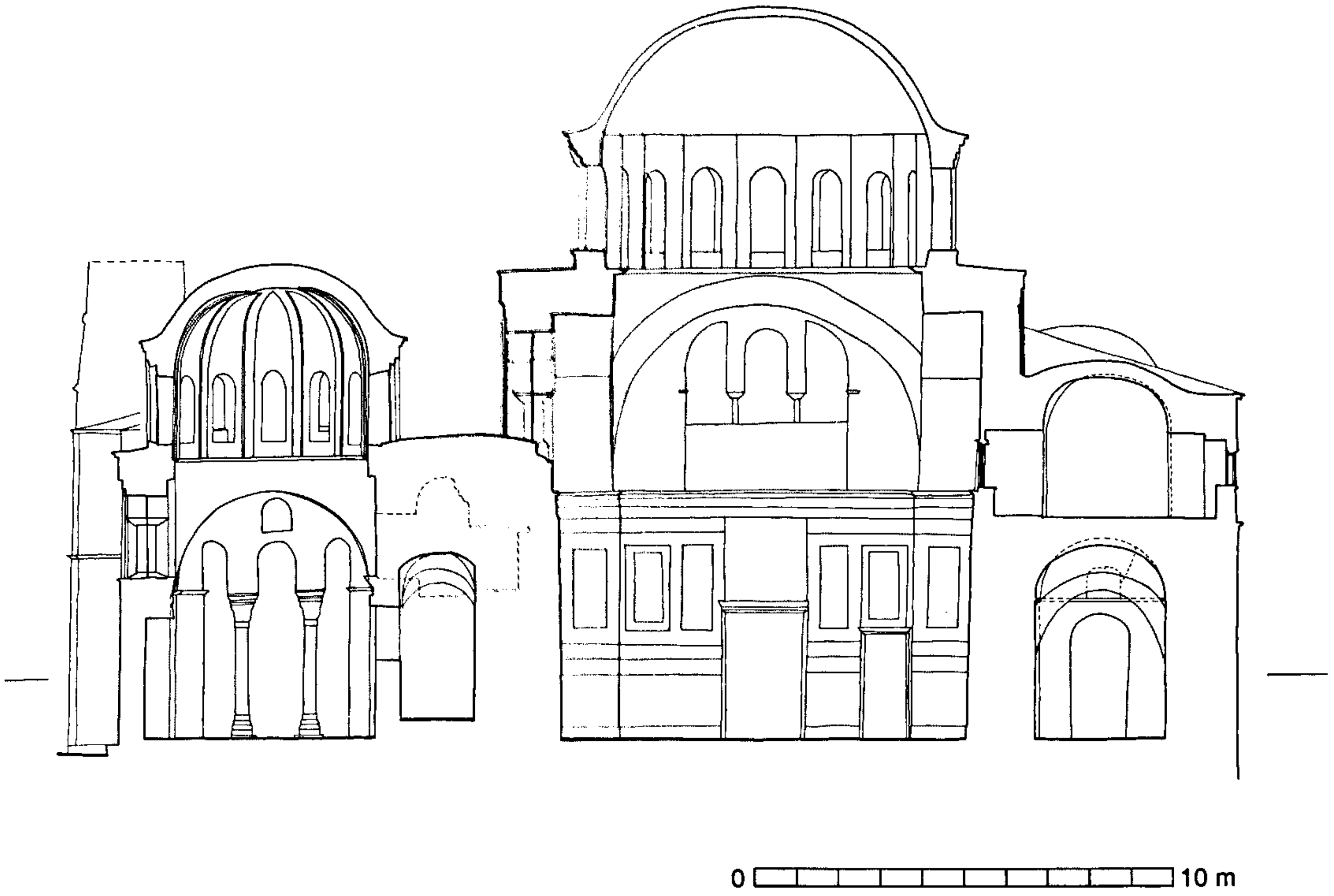
23. Longitudinal section through parecclesion, looking south



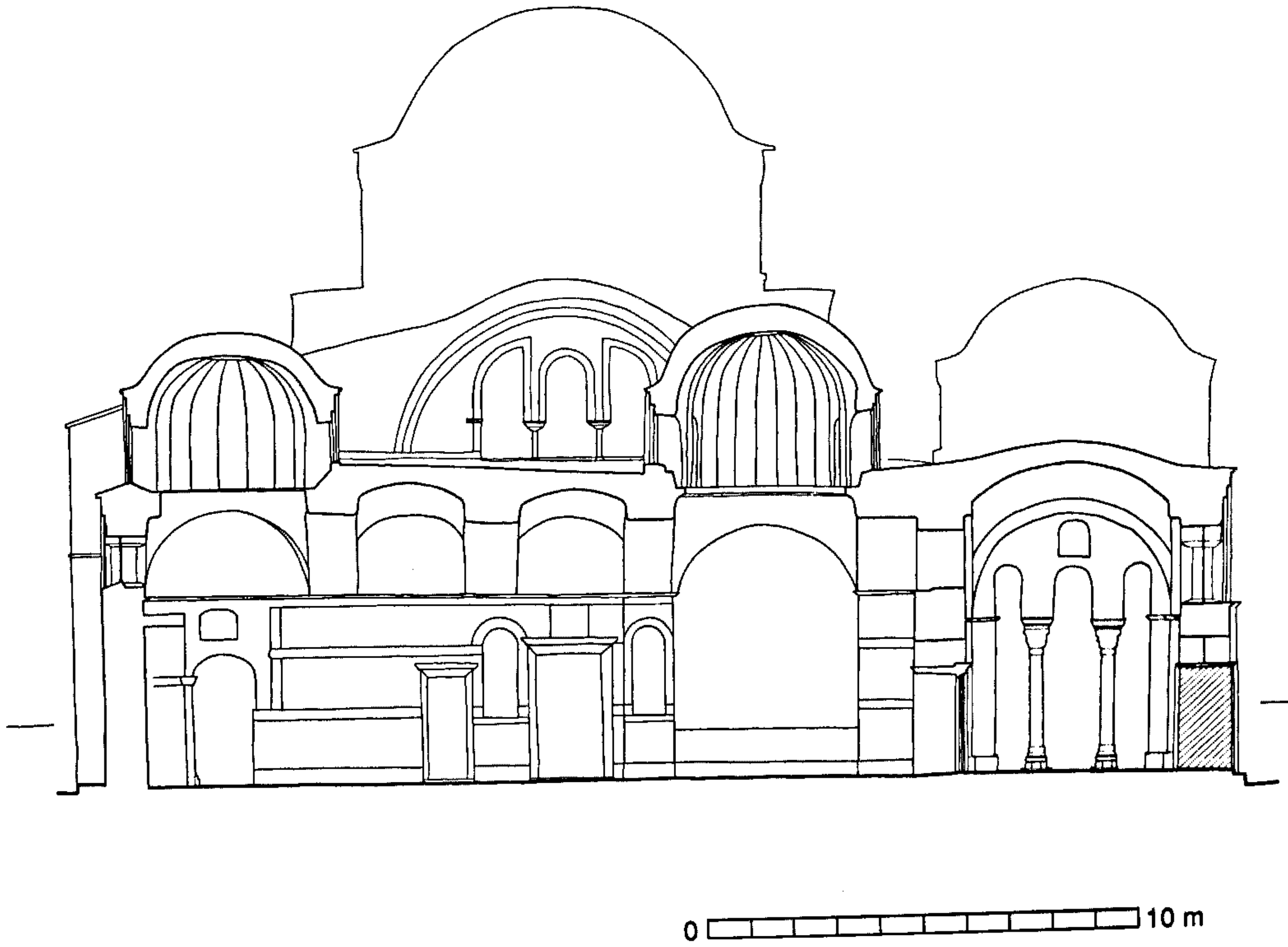
24. Transverse section through sanctuary, looking east



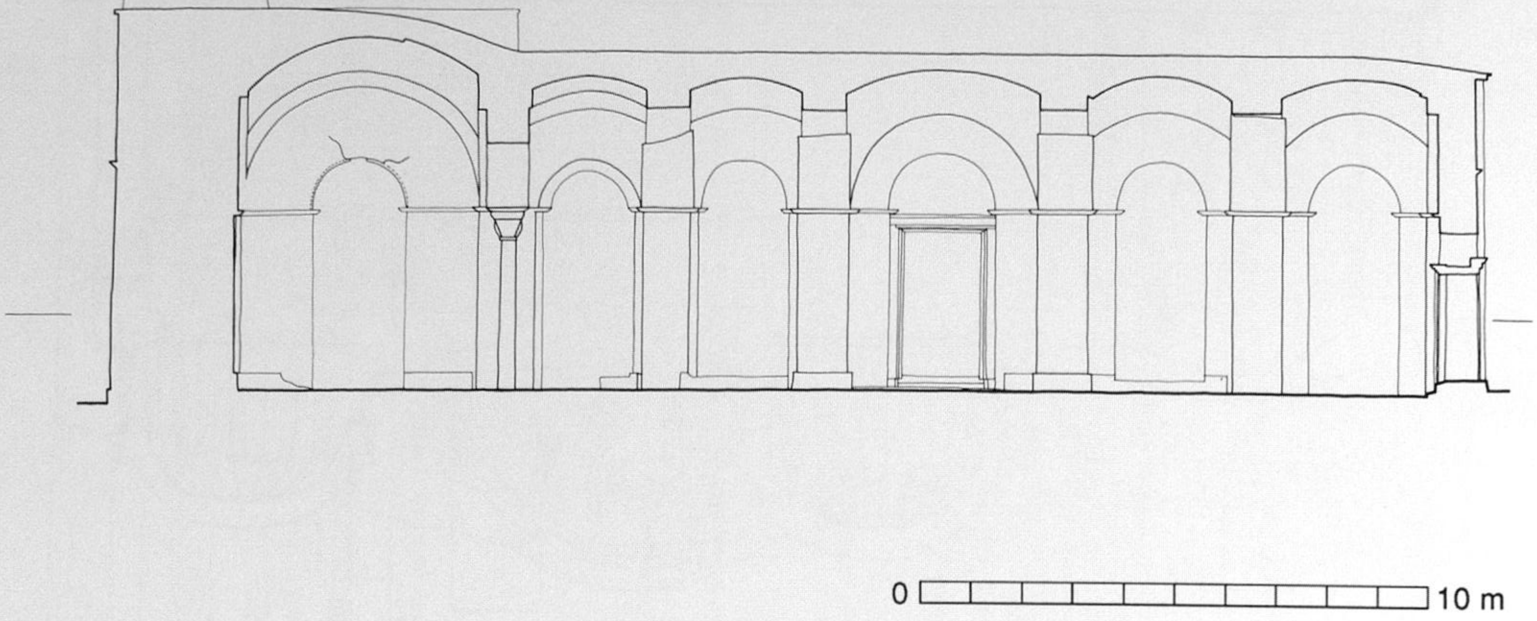
25. Transverse section through naos, looking east (redrawn after B.I.A.)



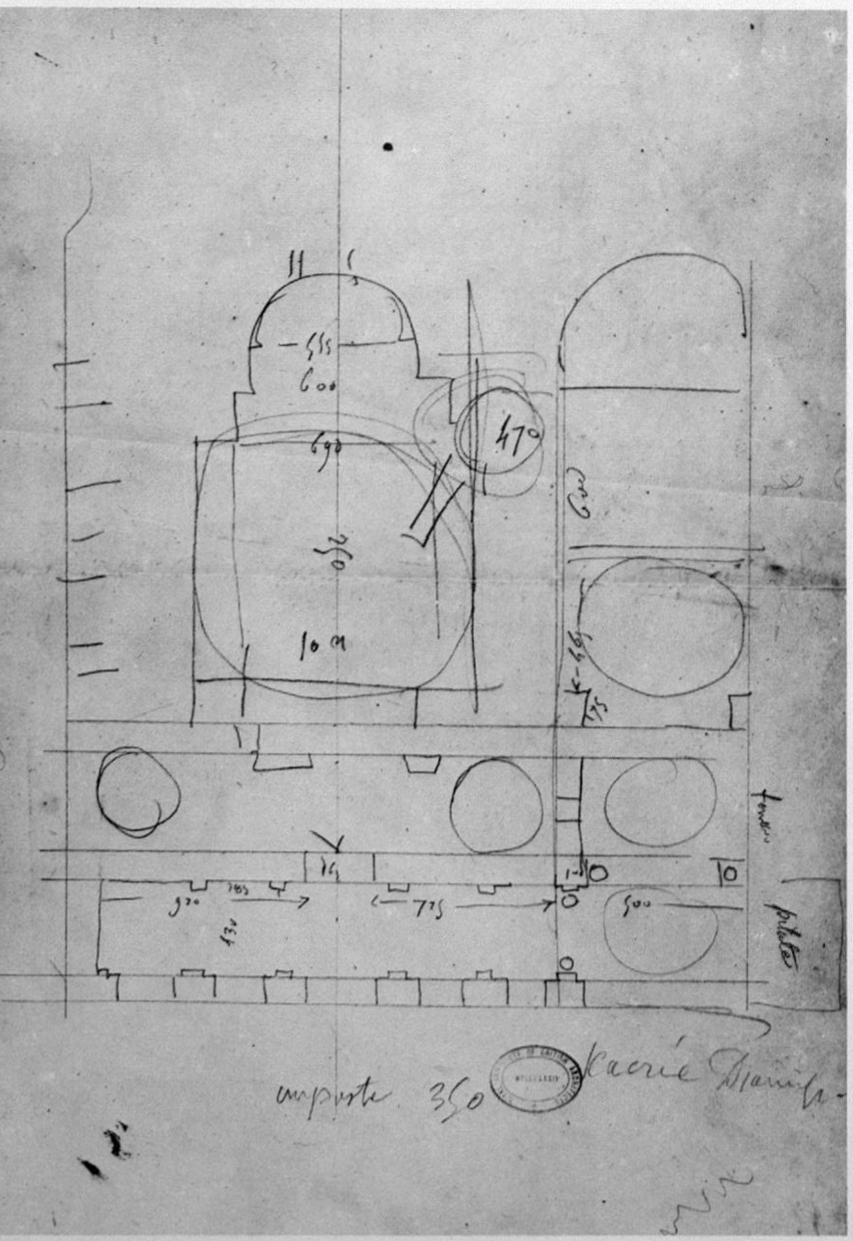
26. Transverse section through naos, looking west (redrawn after B.I.A.)

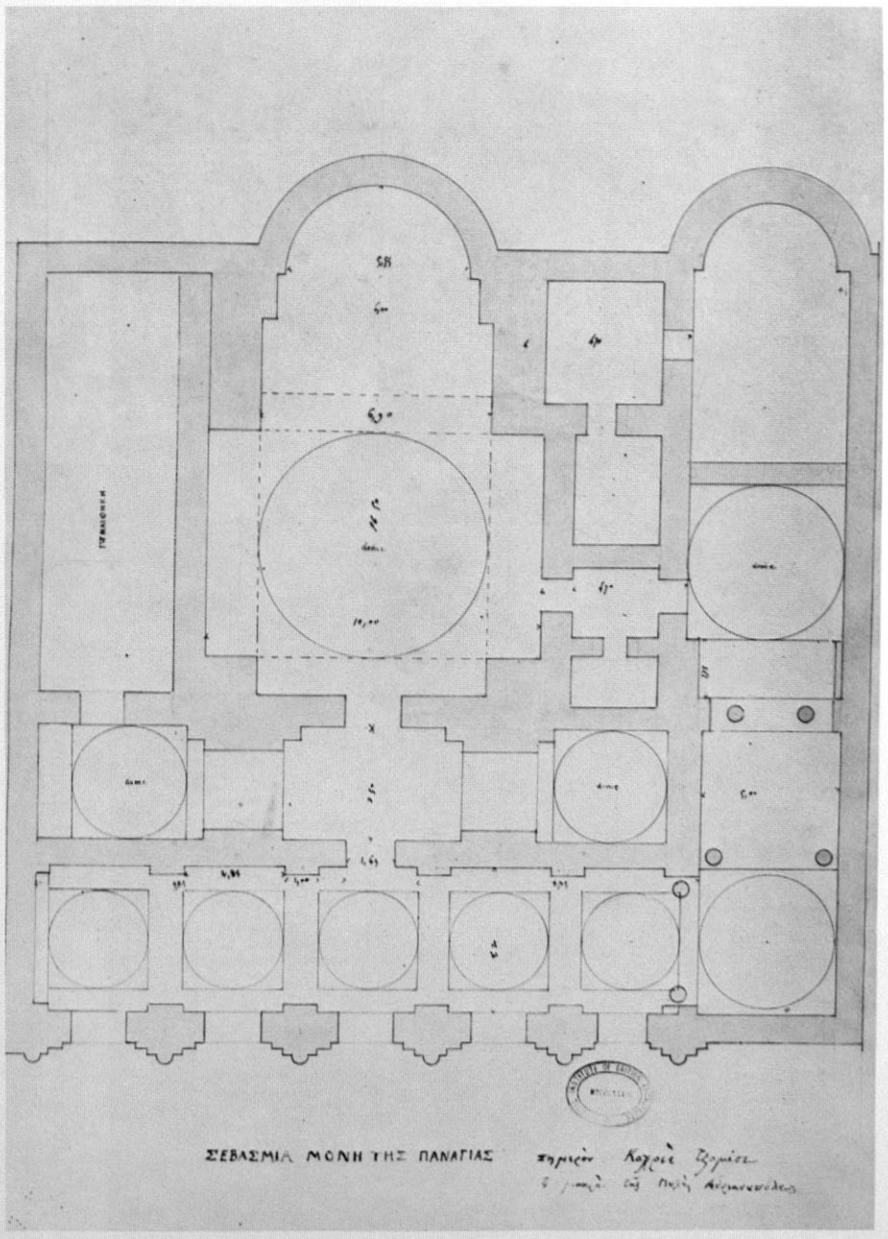


27. Transverse section through inner narthex, looking east (redrawn after B.I.A.)



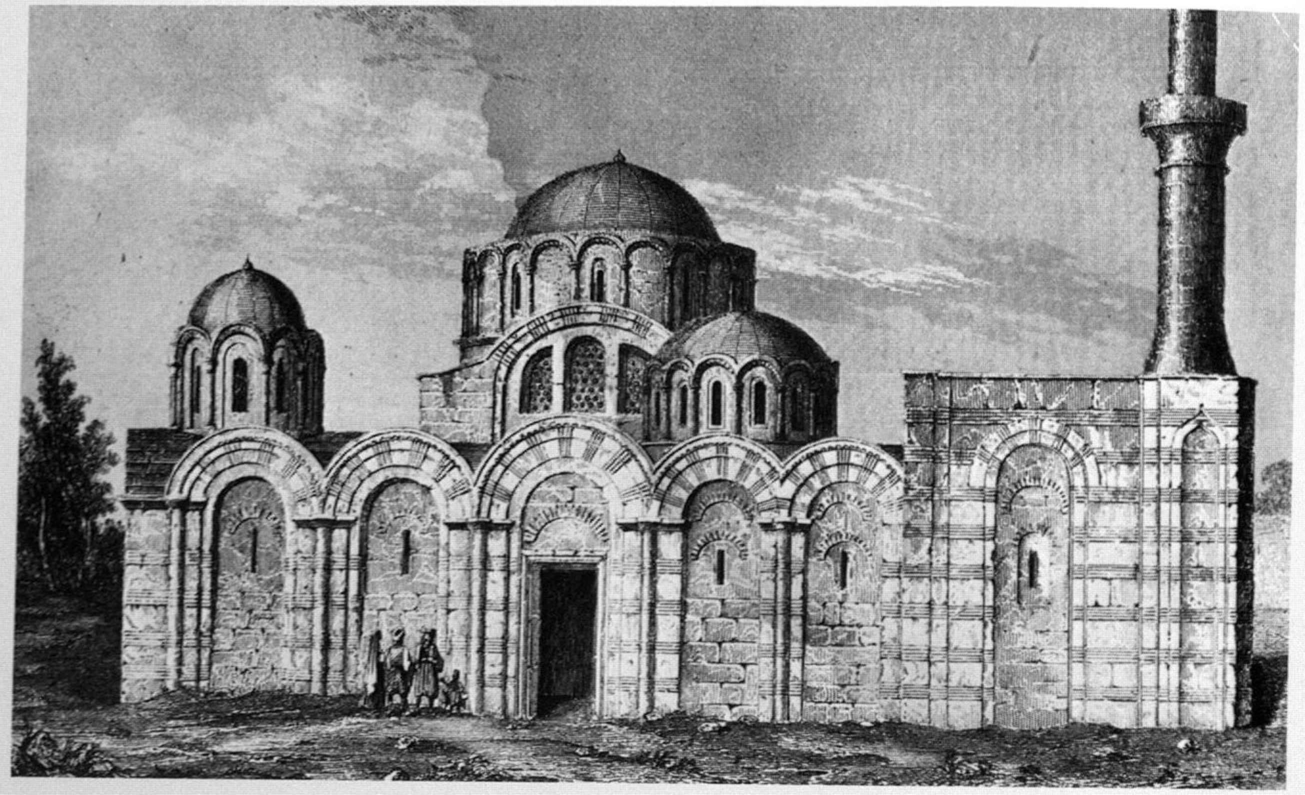
28. Transverse section through exonarthex, looking west (redrawn after B.I.A.)



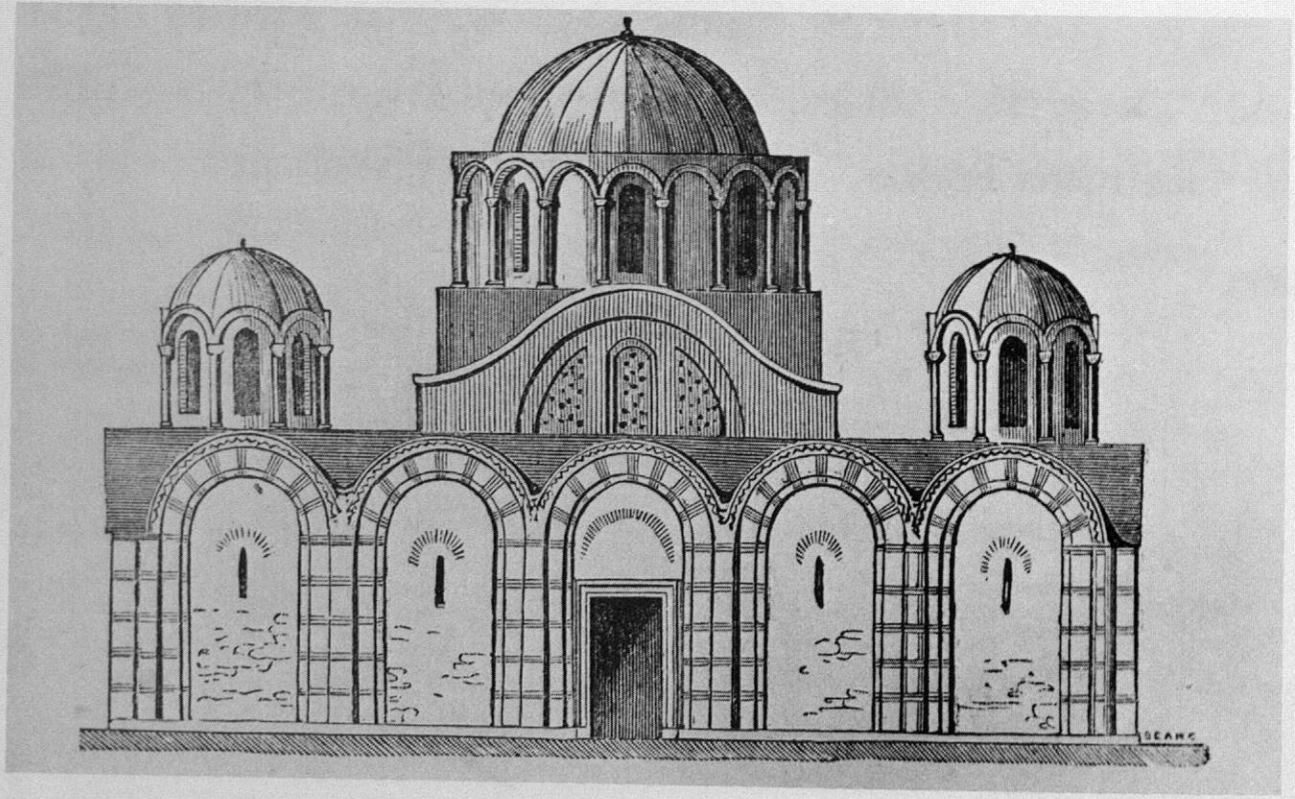


29. Sketch plan by Charles Texier, ca. 1833–35

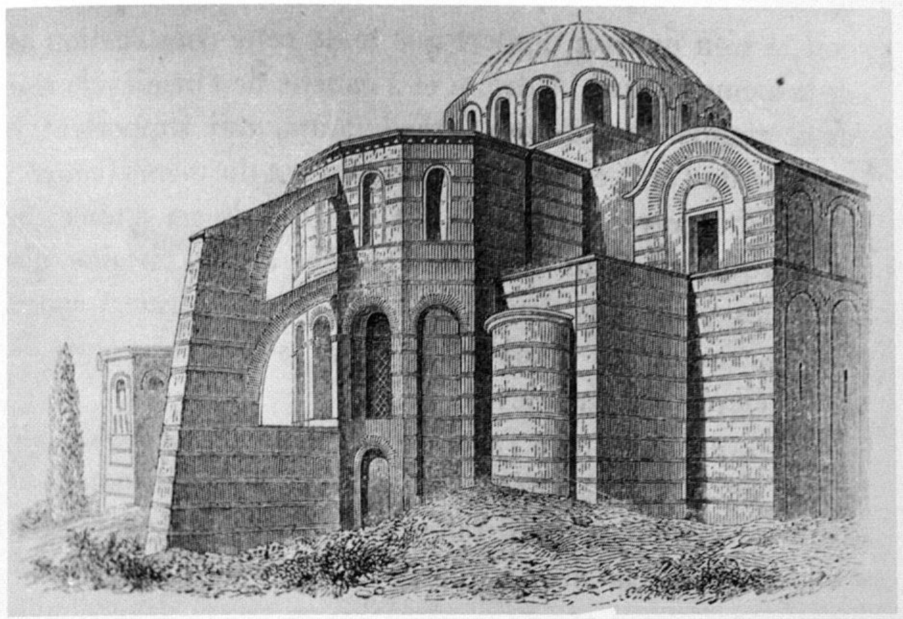
30. Plan by Charles Texier, ca. 1833–35



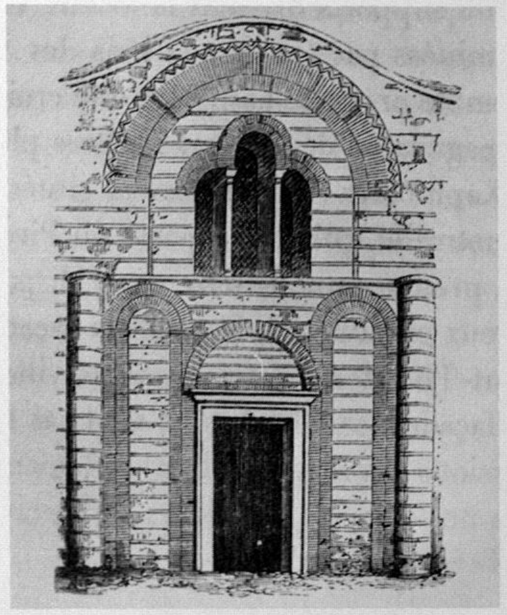
31. West facade by A. Lenoir, ca. 1840 (from W. Brunet de Presle, *Grèce depuis la conquête jusqu'à nos jours,* fig. 16)



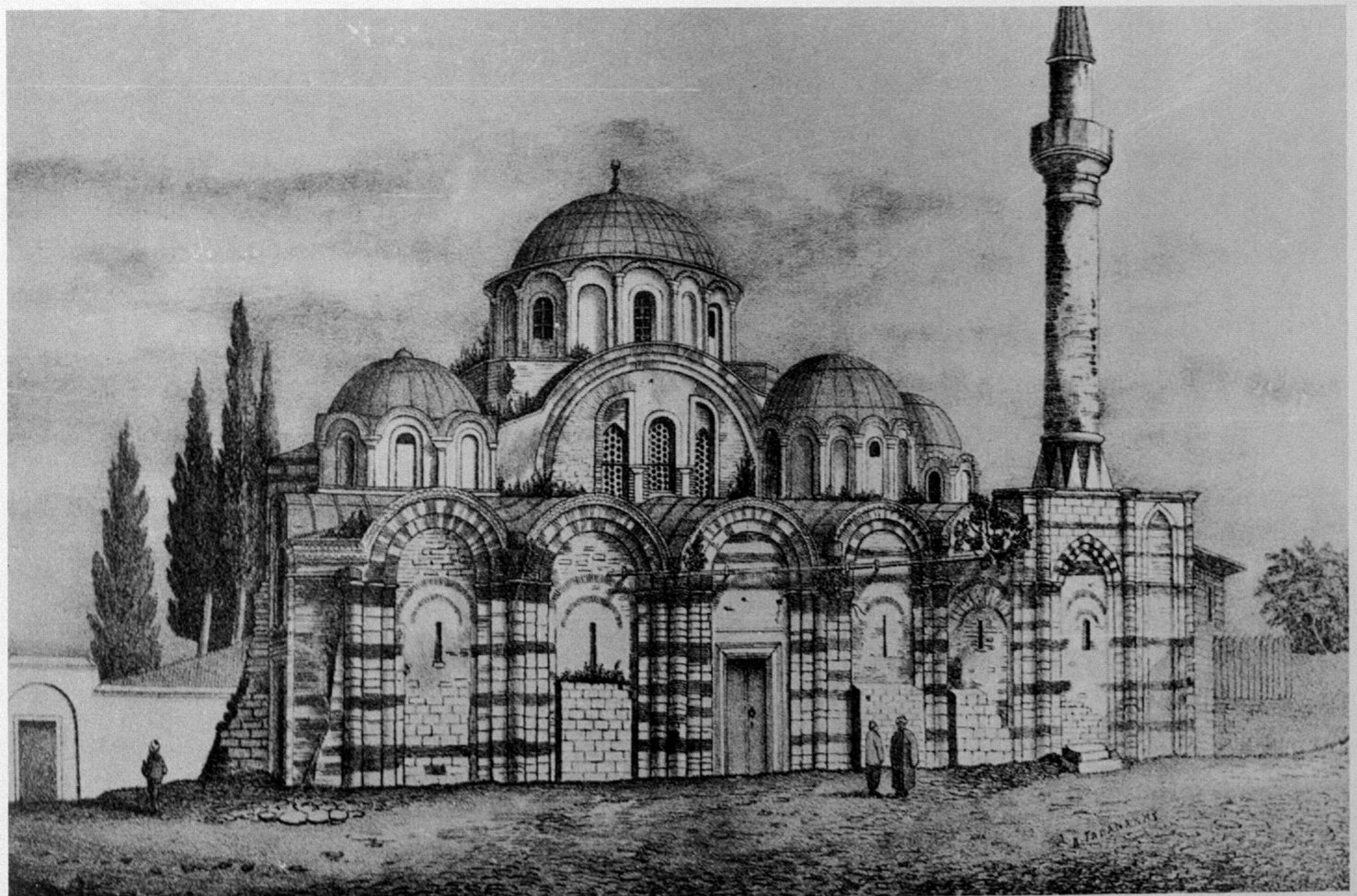
32. West facade, ca. 1852 (from A. Lenoir, *Architecture monastique,* fig. 177)



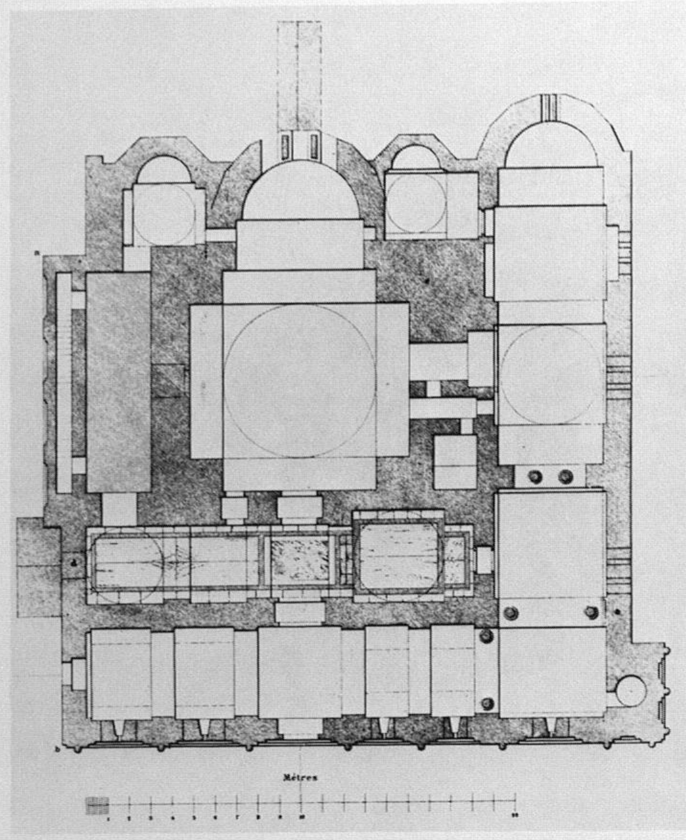
33. From northeast, ca. 1852 (from Lenoir, fig. 188)



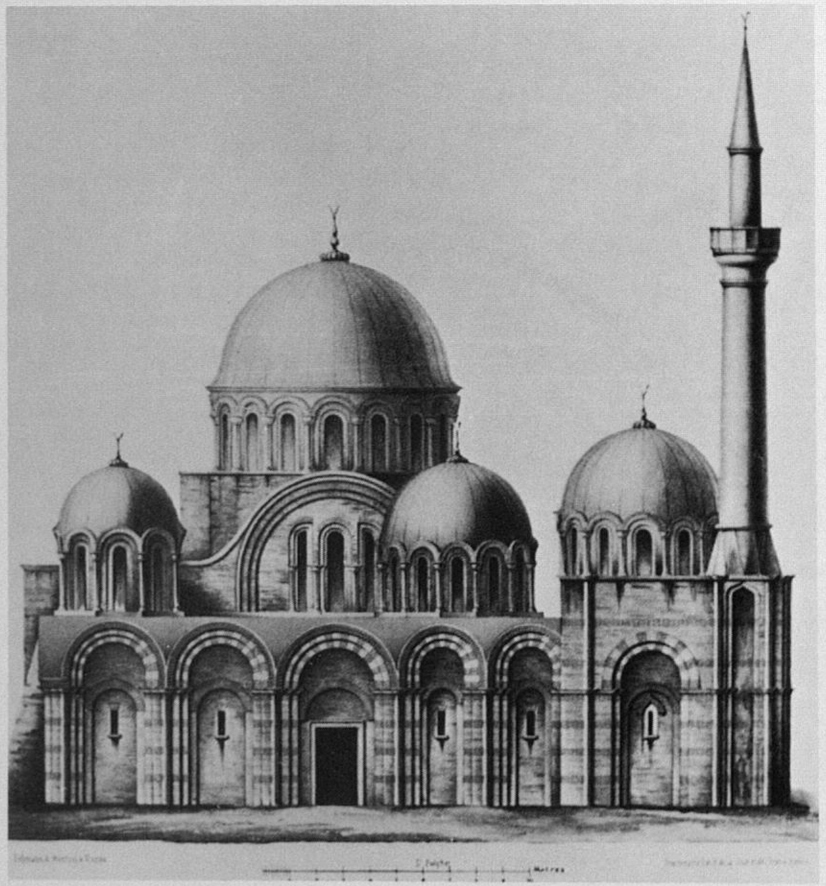
34. South portal, ca. 1852 (from Lenoir, fig. 208)



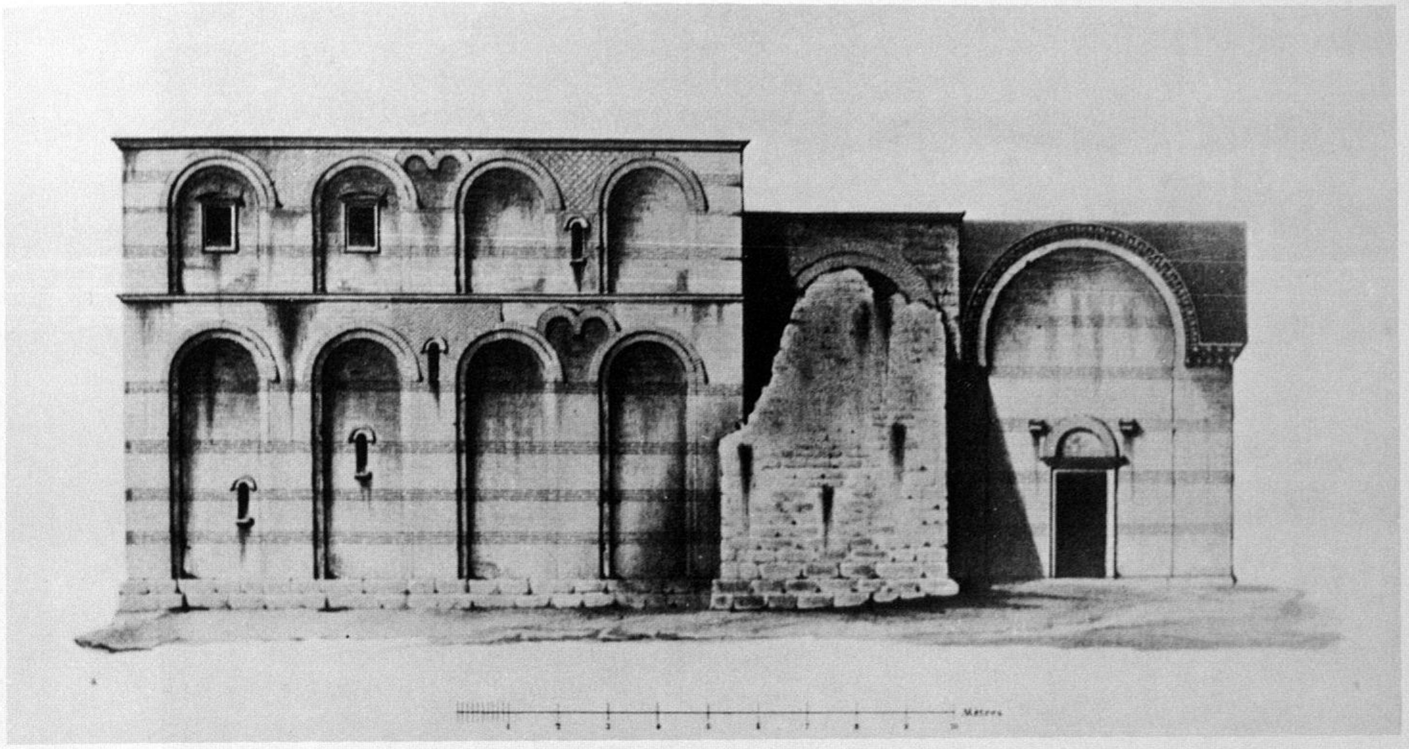
35. From northwest, ca. 1877 (from A. G. Paspatēs, *Byzantinai meletai,* facing p. 226)



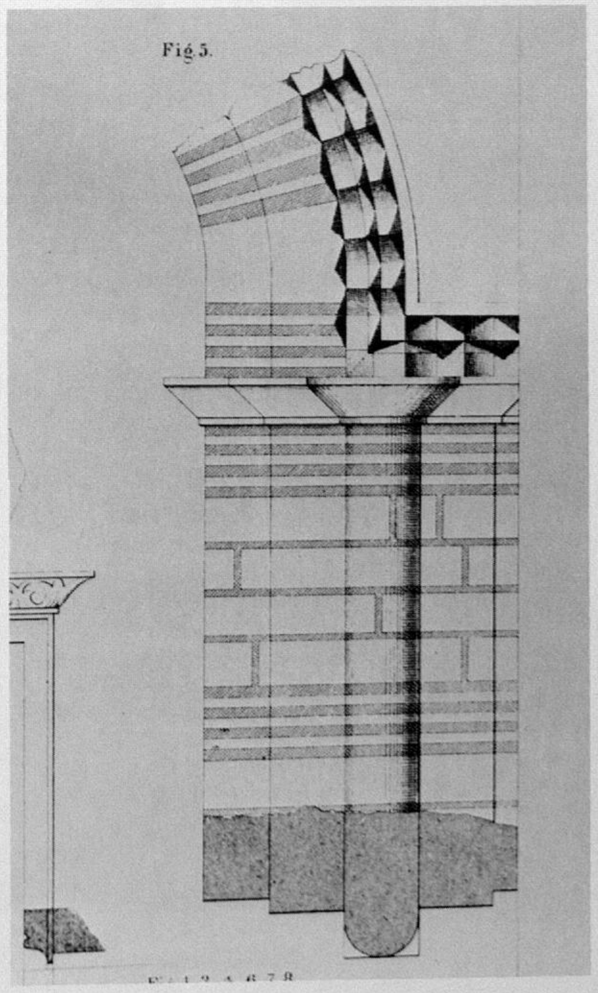
36. Plan, ca. 1878 (from D. Pulgher, *Les églises byzantines de Constantinople,* pl. 17)



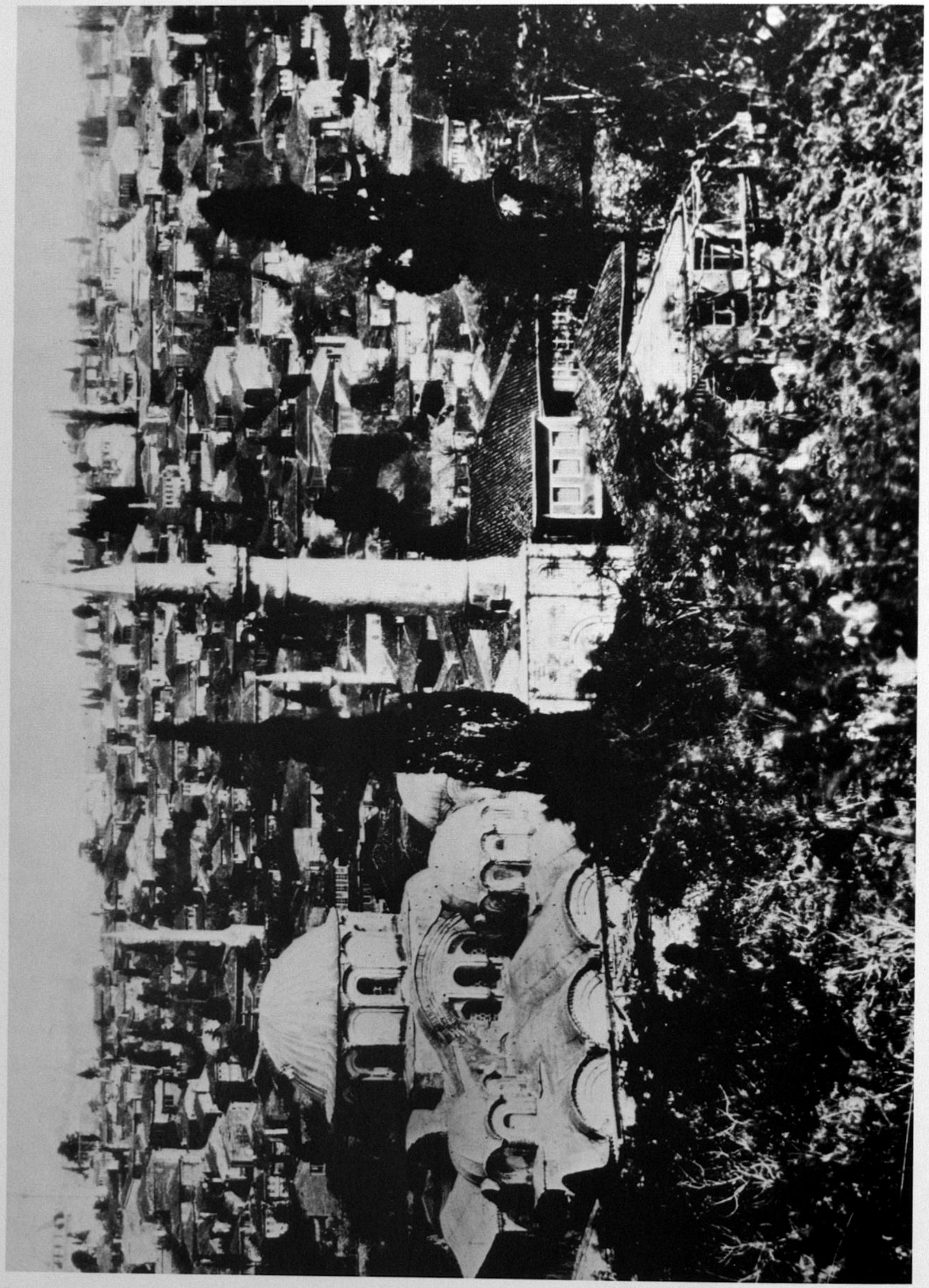
37. West facade, ca. 1878 (from Pulgher, pl. 16)



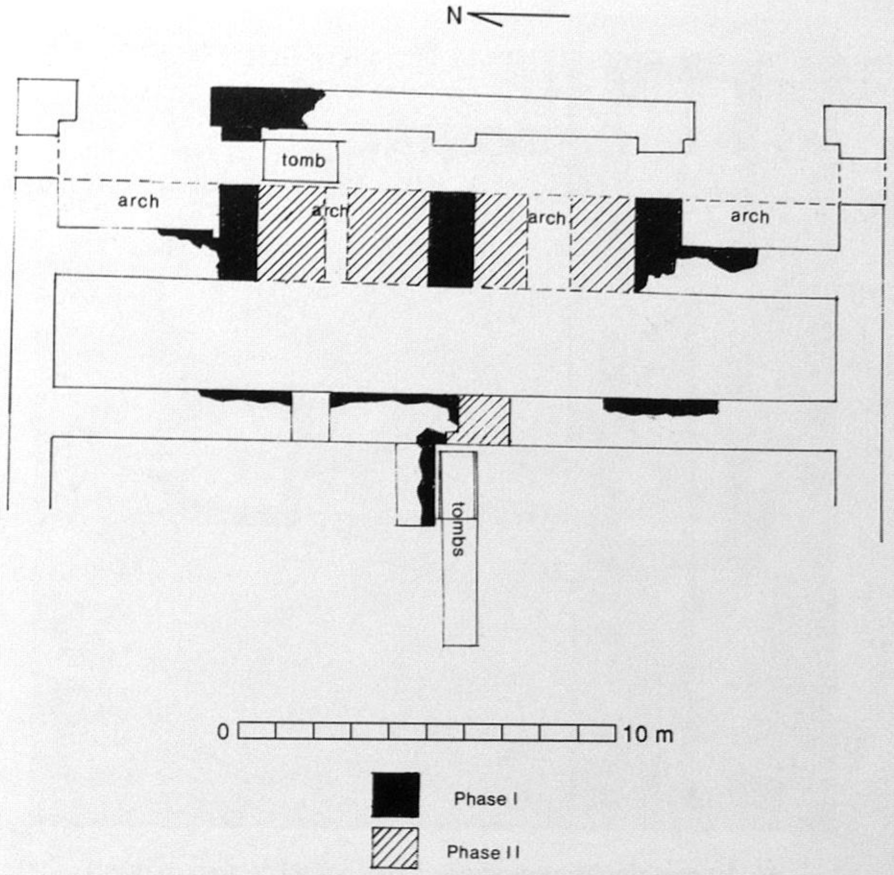
38. North facade, ca. 1878 (from Pulgher, pl. 28)



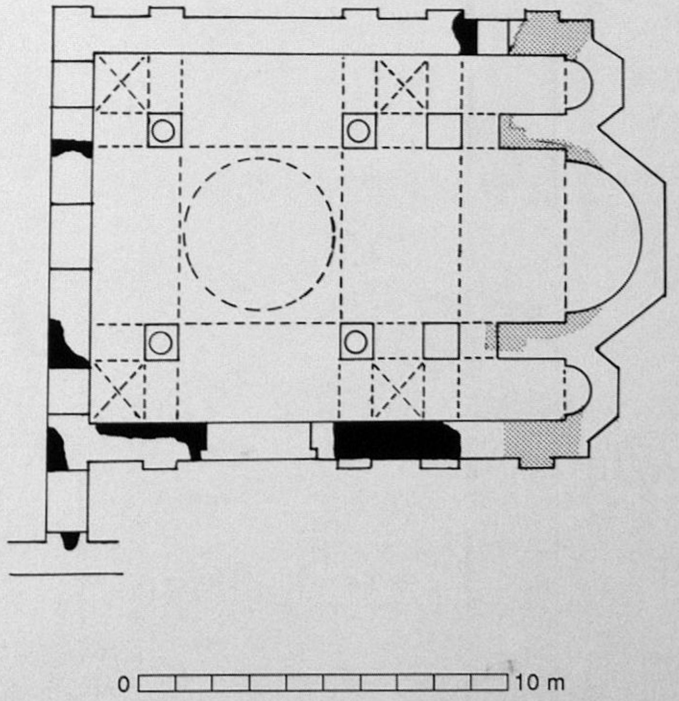
39. West facade, detail, ca. 1878 (from Pulgher, pl. 29)



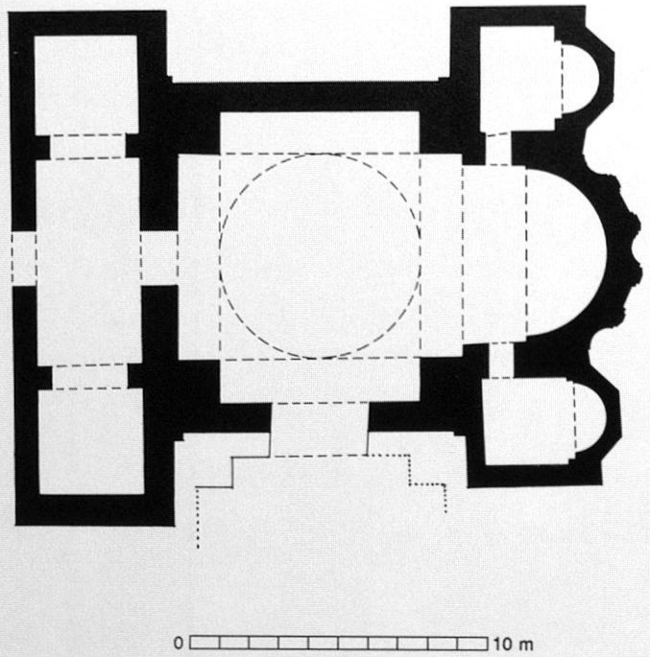
40. From west, ca. 1860



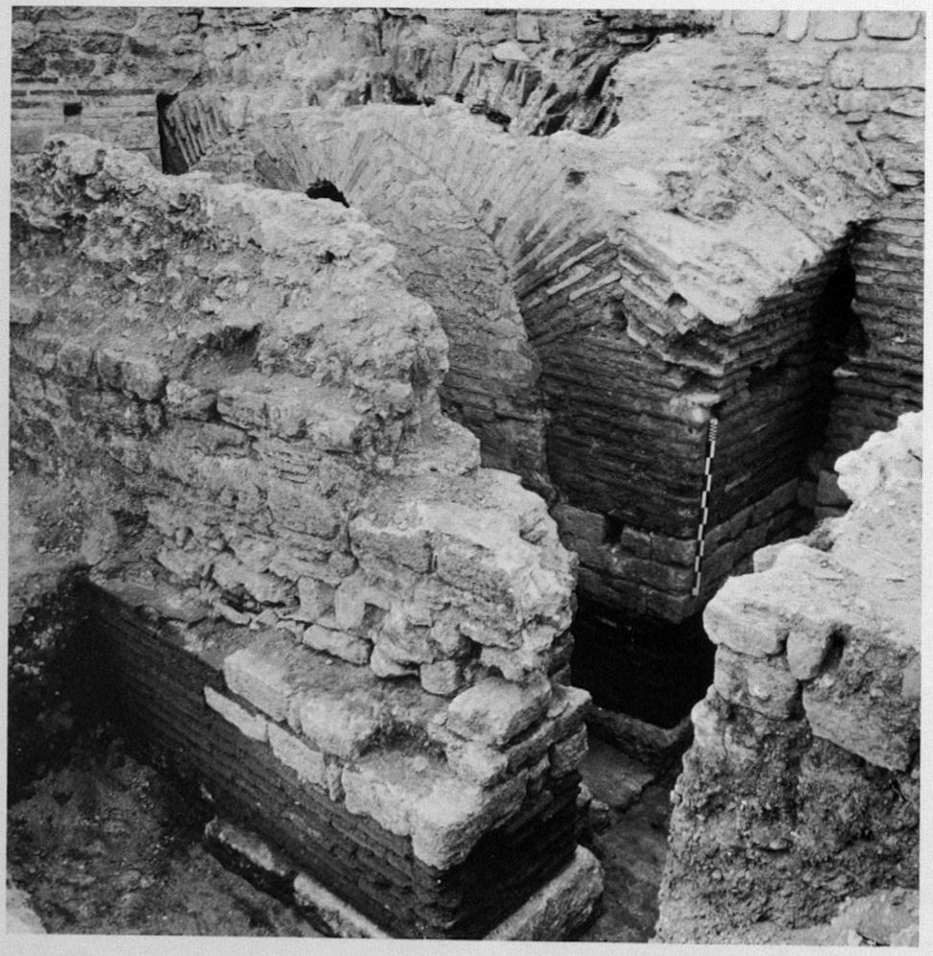
41. Hypothetical plan. Phase I–II



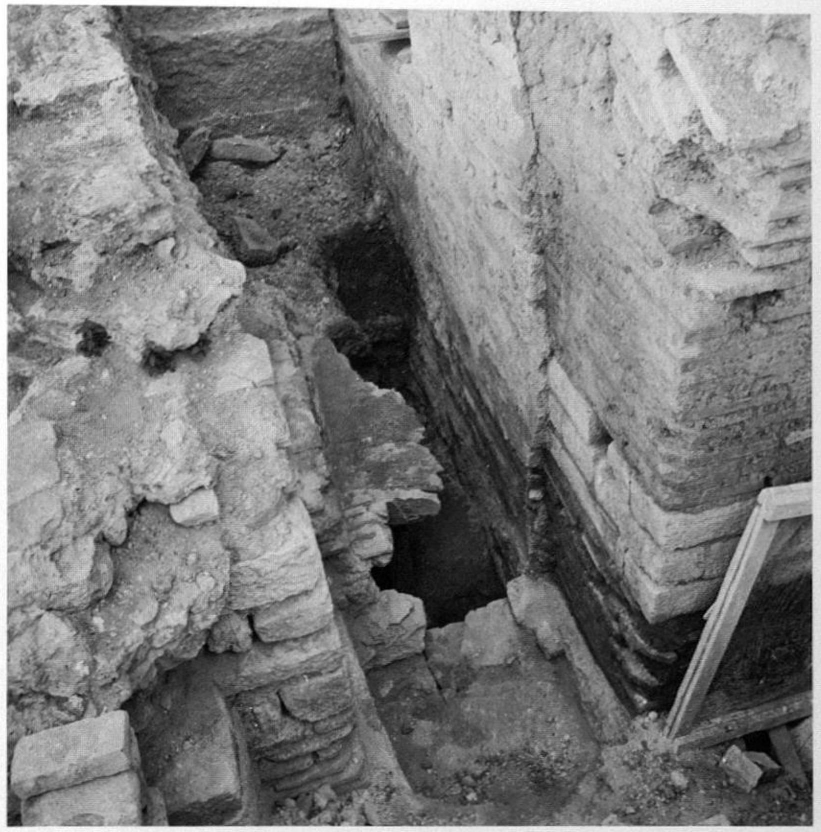
42. Hypothetical plan. Phase III



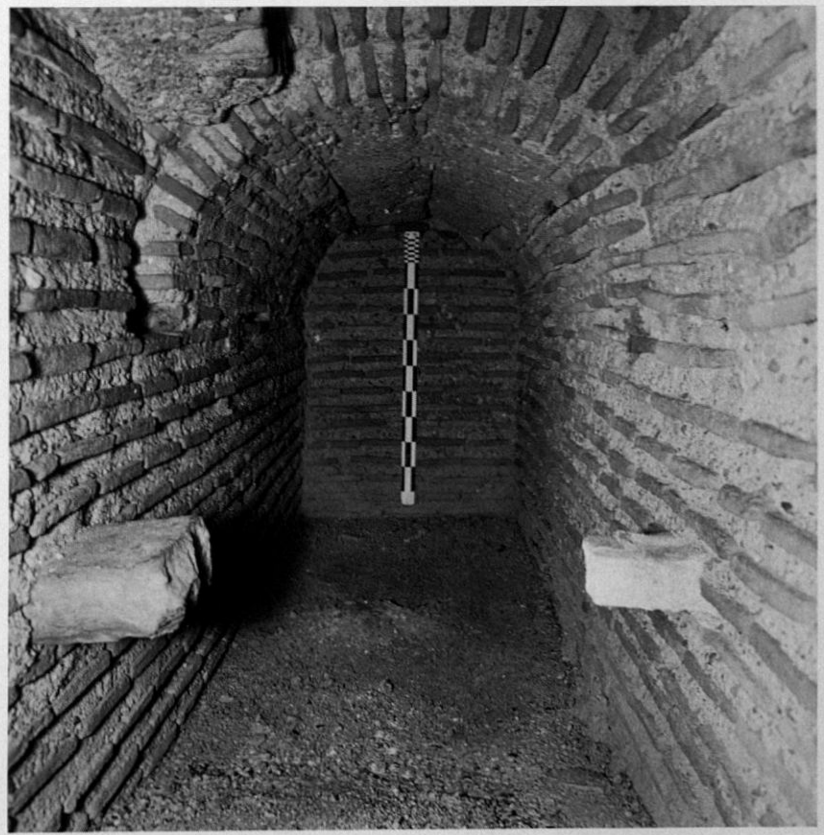
43. Hypothetical plan. Phase IV



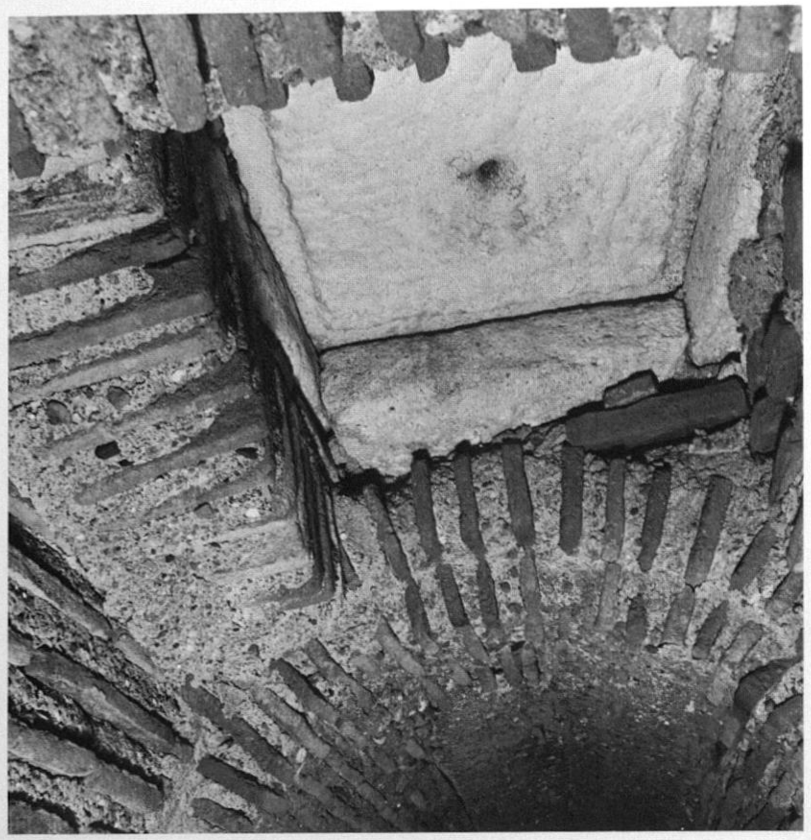
44. Foundations of Phase I–II during excavation, looking west



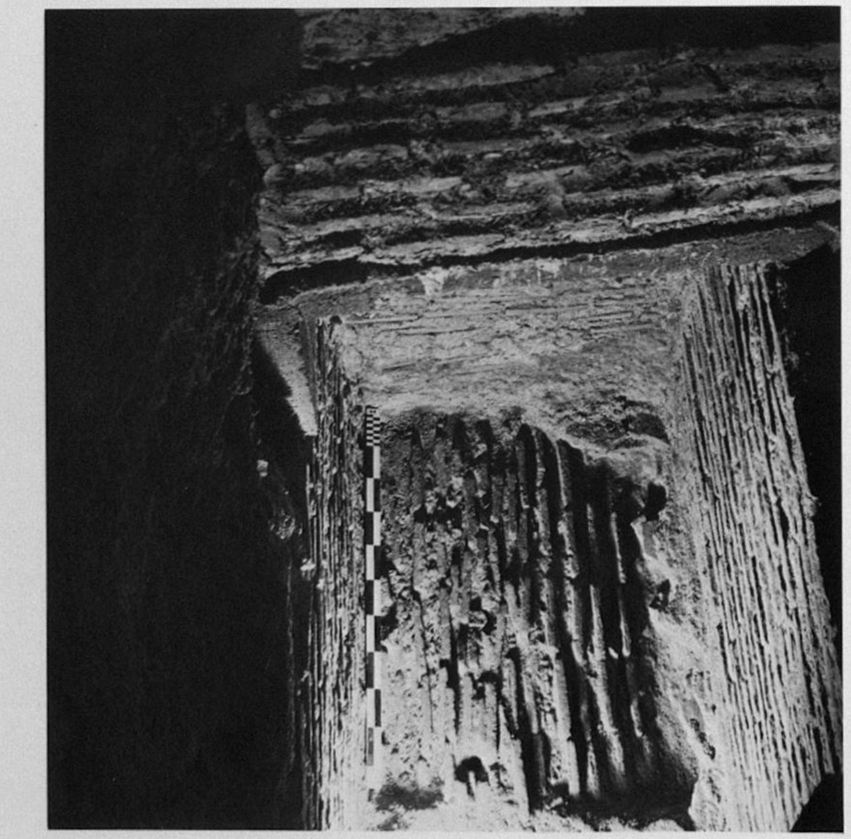
45. Tomb to east of Phase I–II foundations, looking south



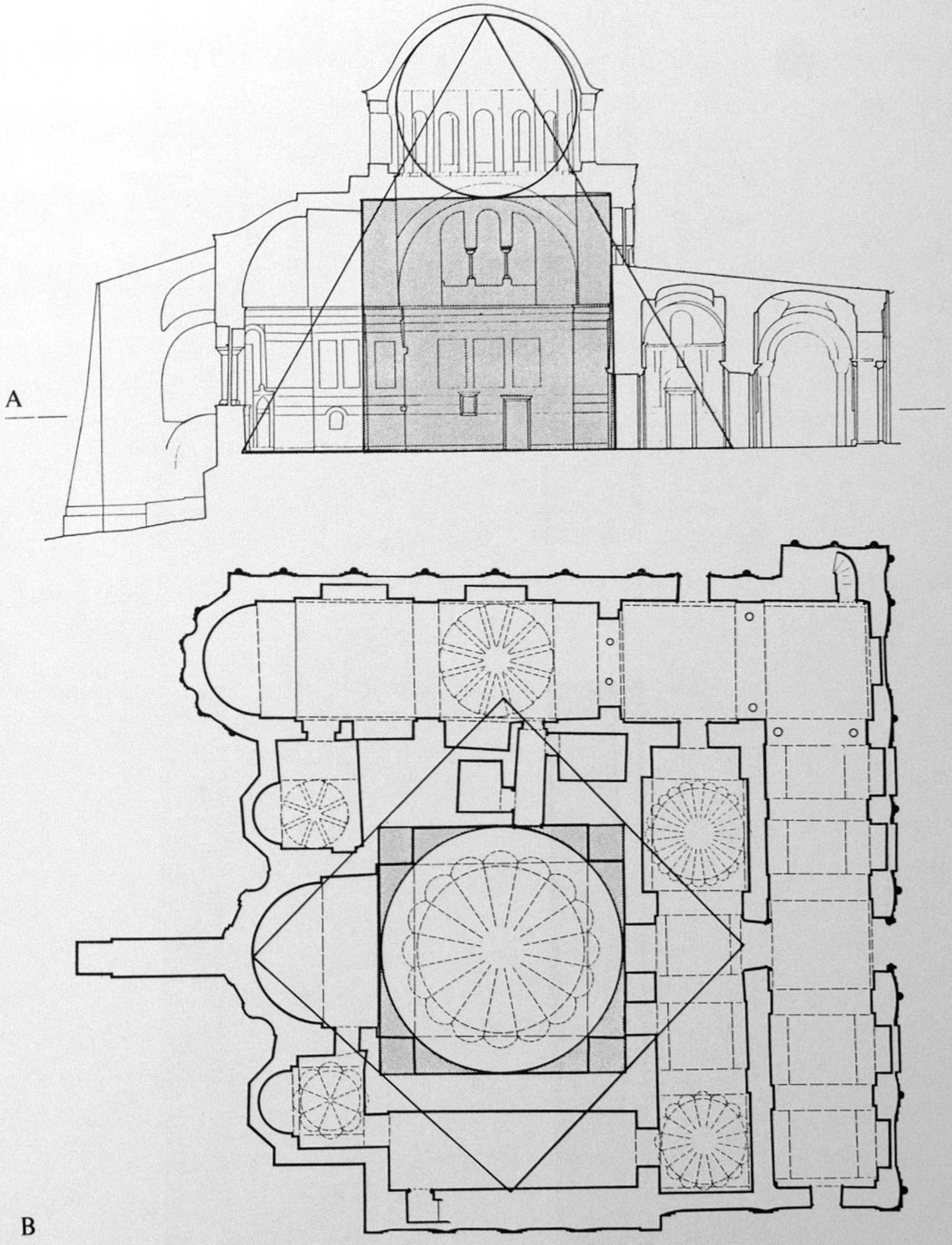
46. Lower tomb under naos; looking west



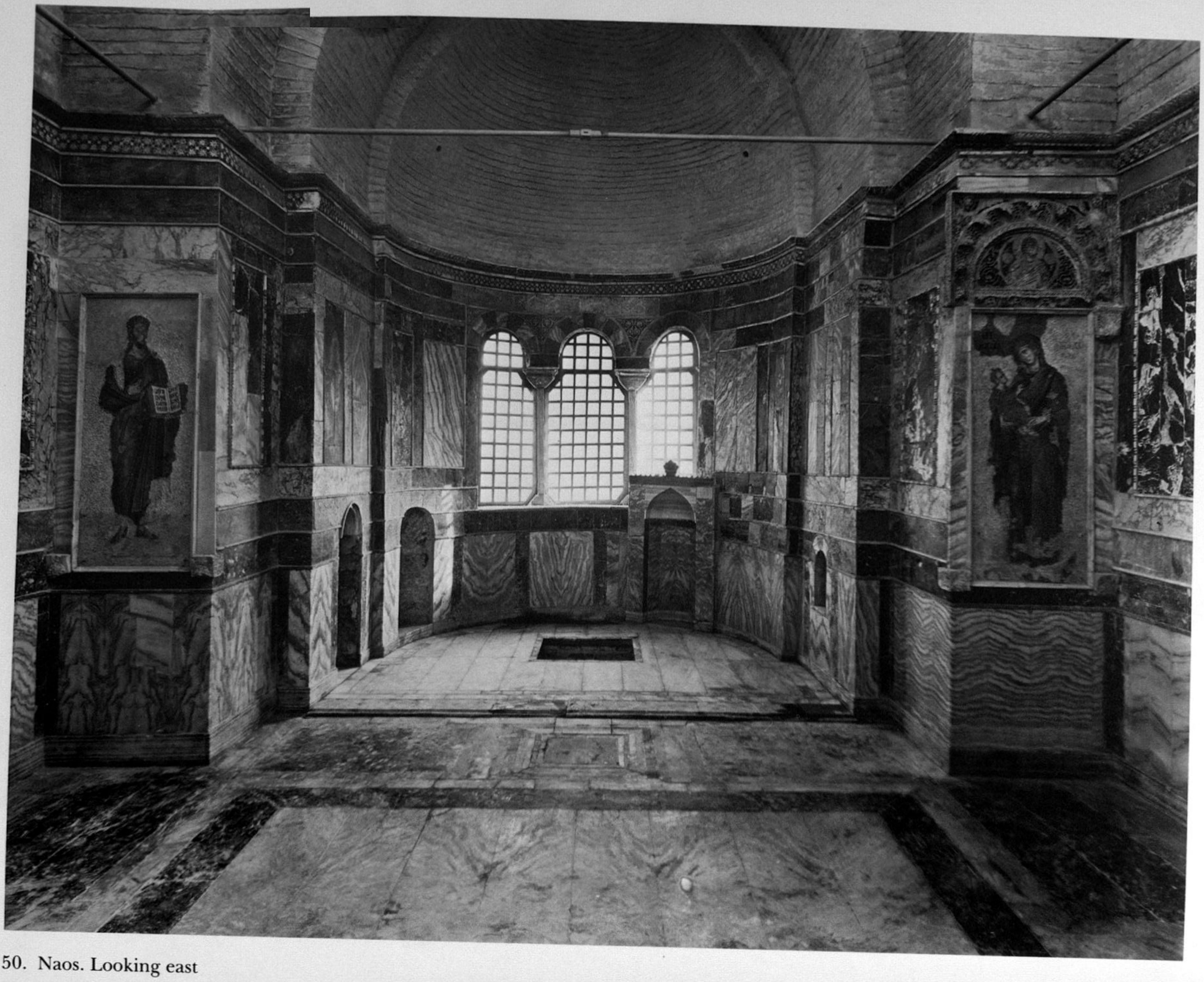
47. Lower tomb under naos; detail of stone lid



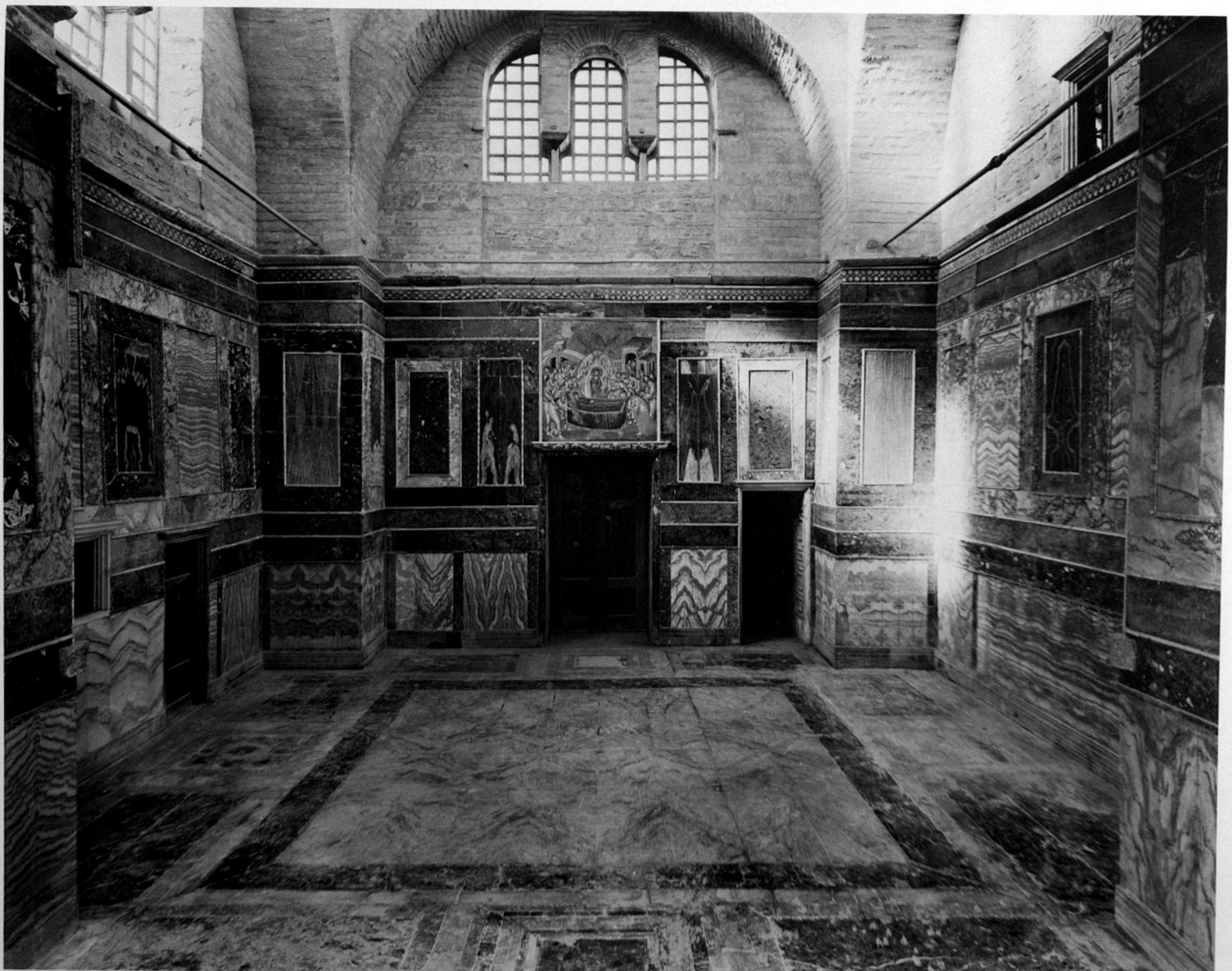
48. Upper tomb under naos; looking down



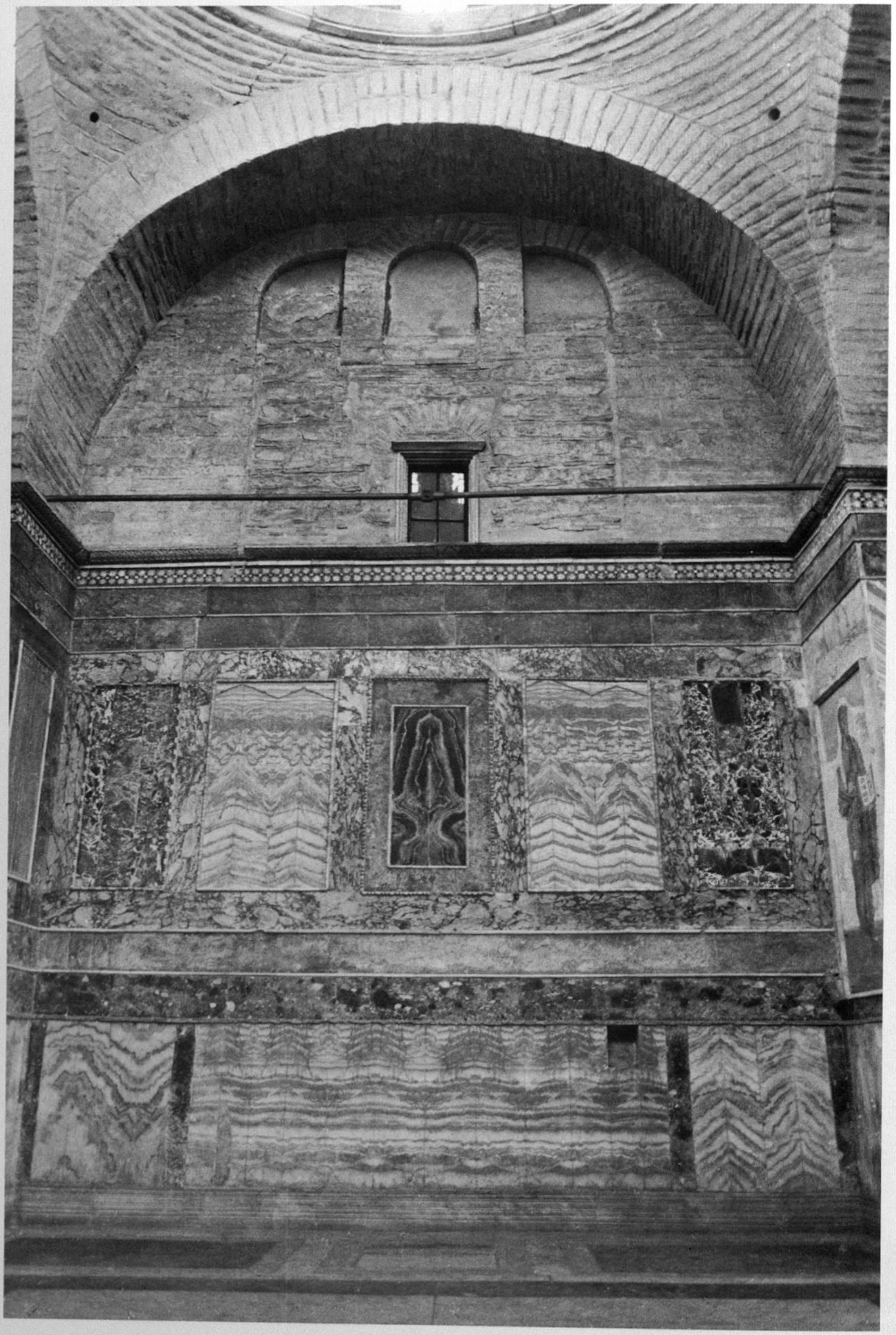
49. Plan and section showing geometric proportions



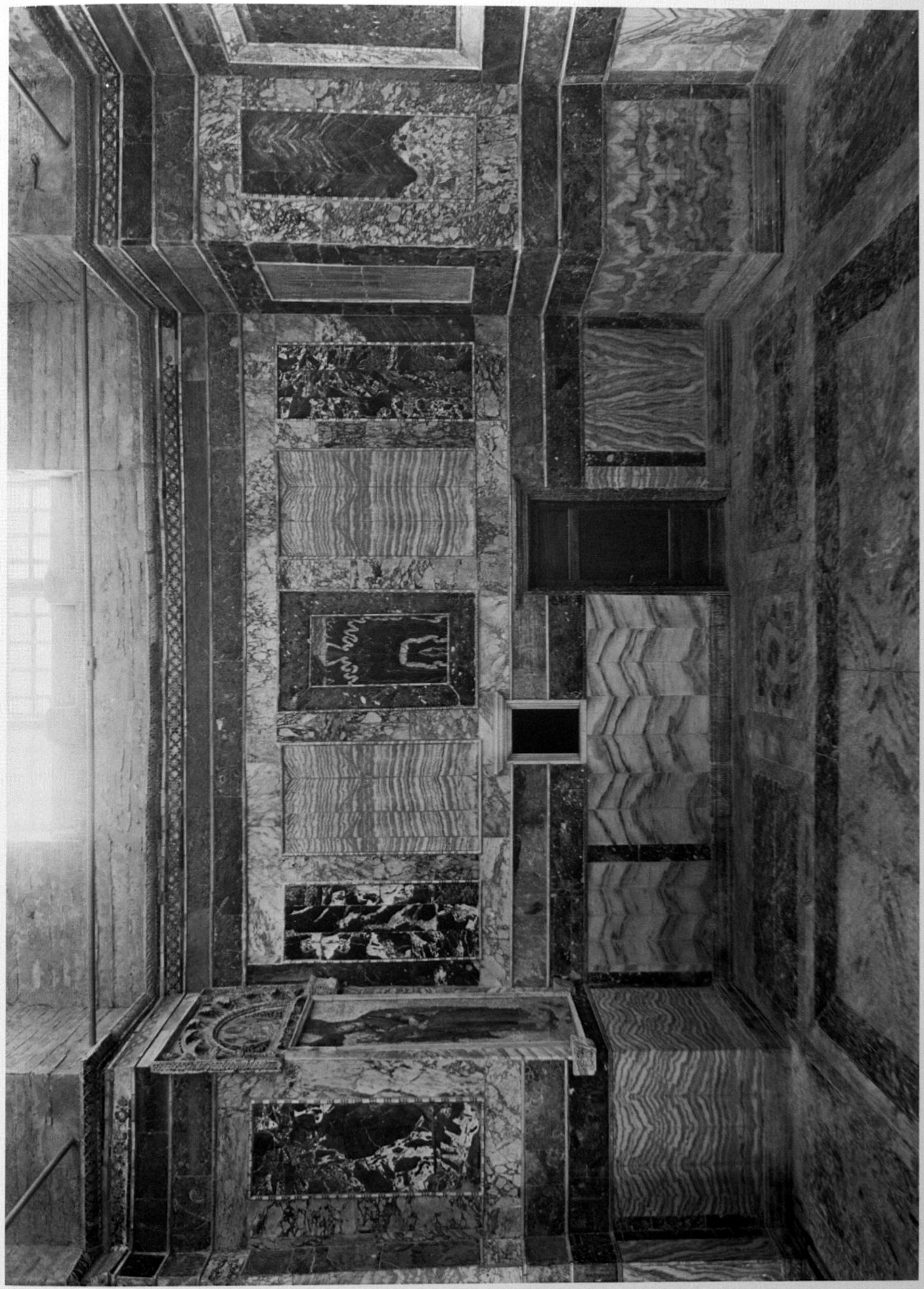
50. Naos. Looking east



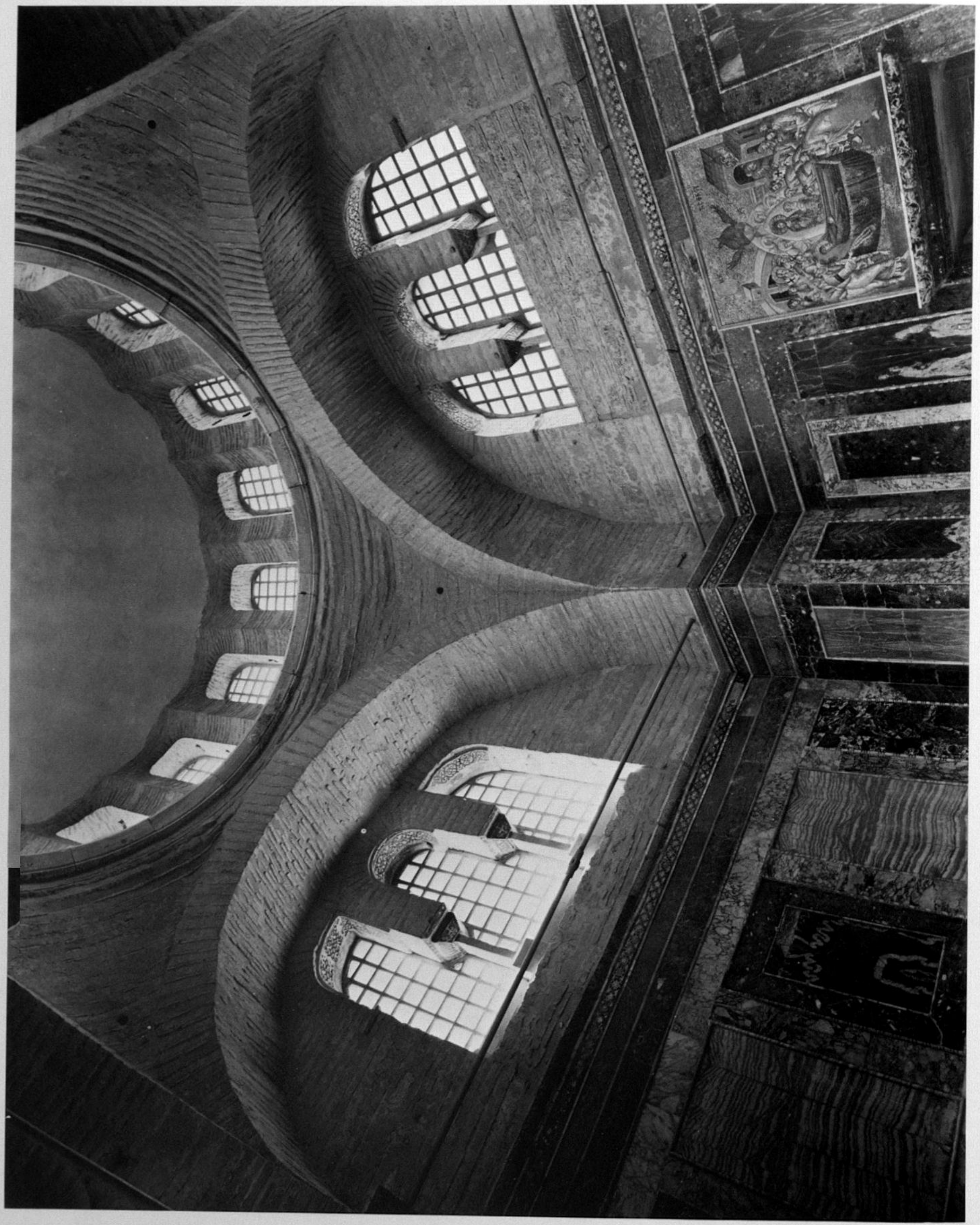
51. Naos. Looking west



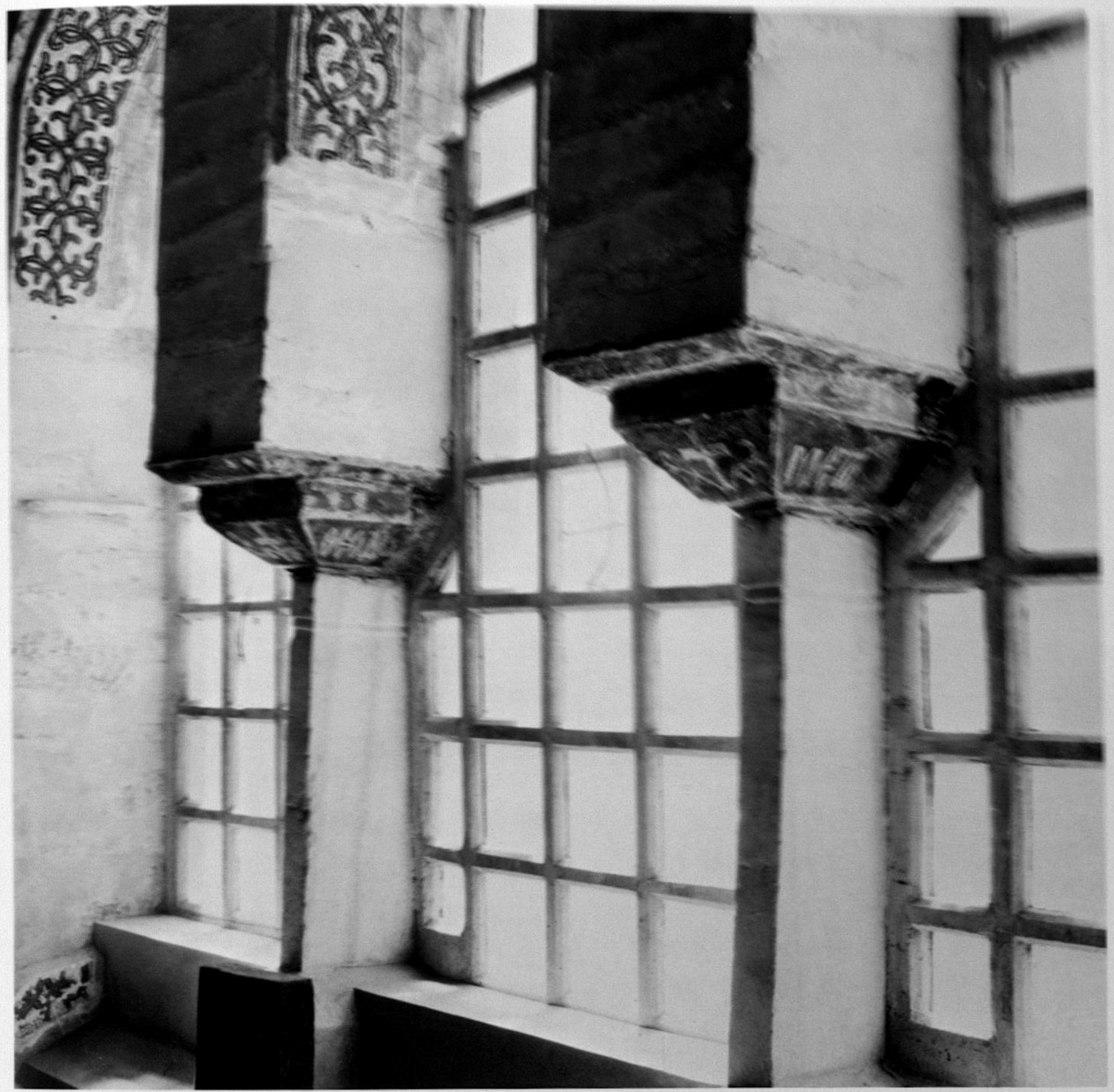
52. Naos. Looking north



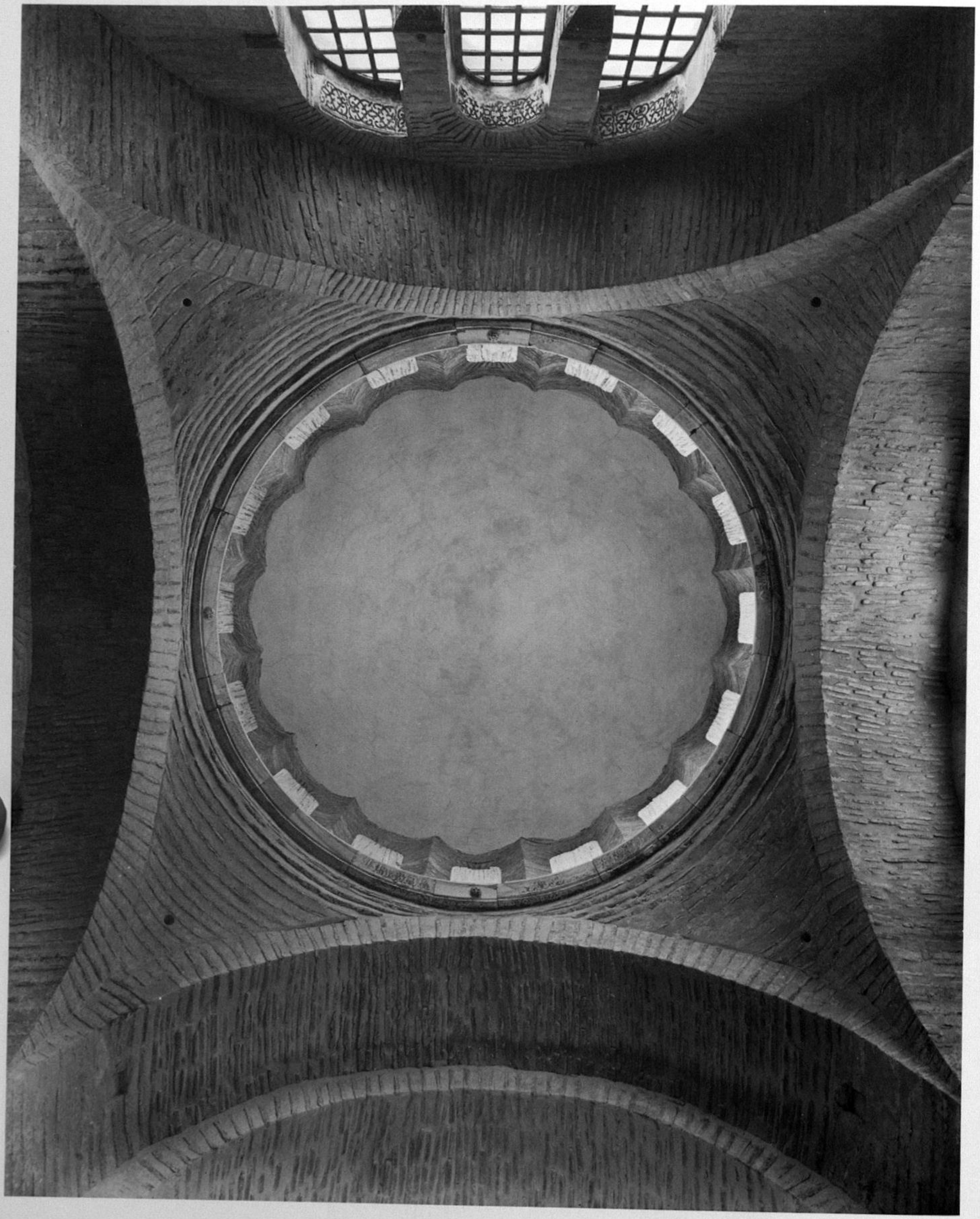
53. Naos. Looking south



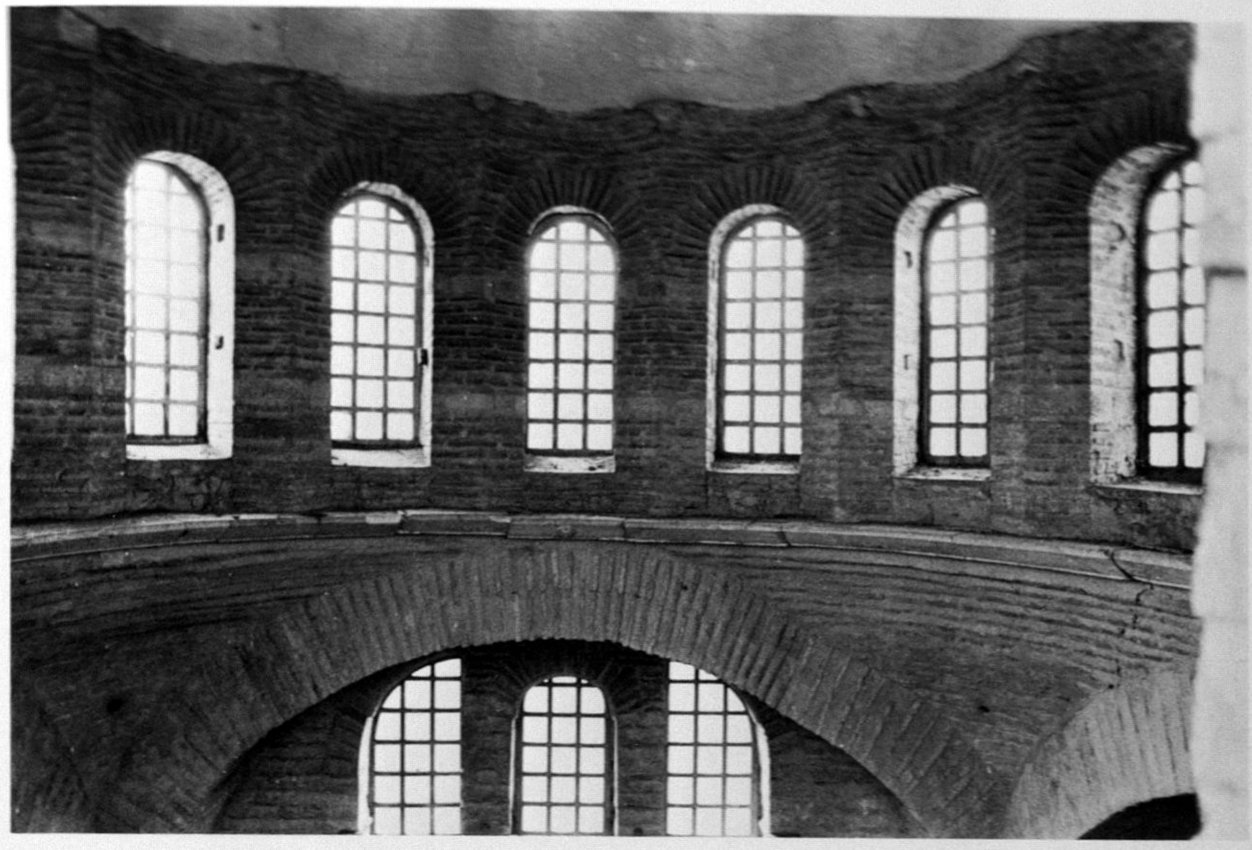
54. Naos. View of vaulting



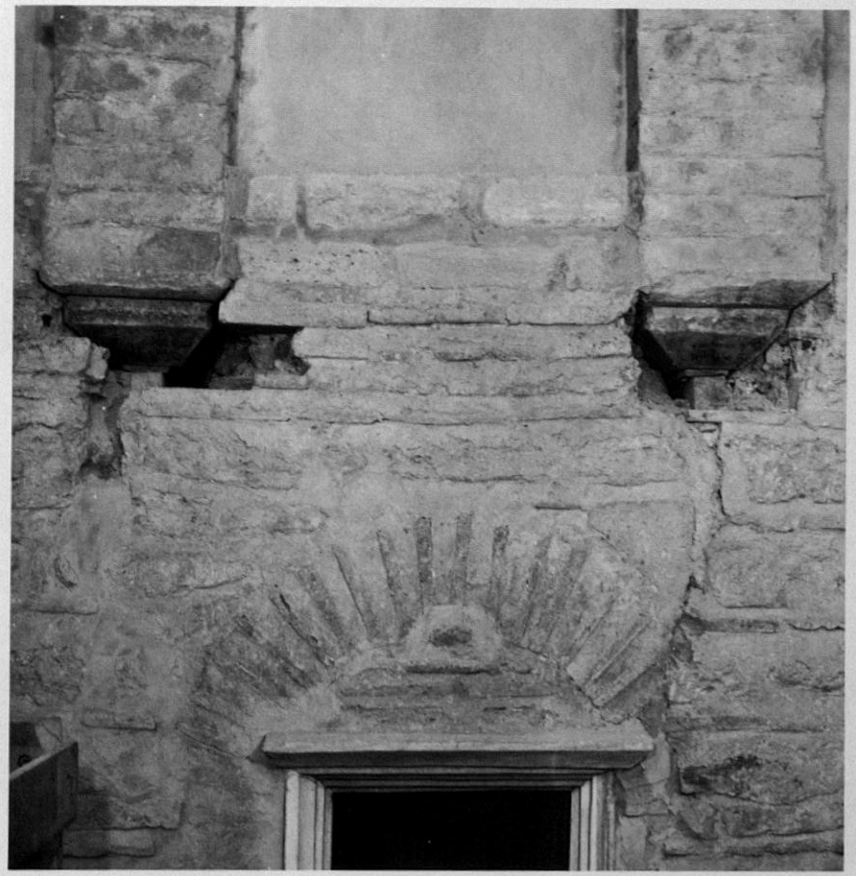
55. Naos. South lunette window



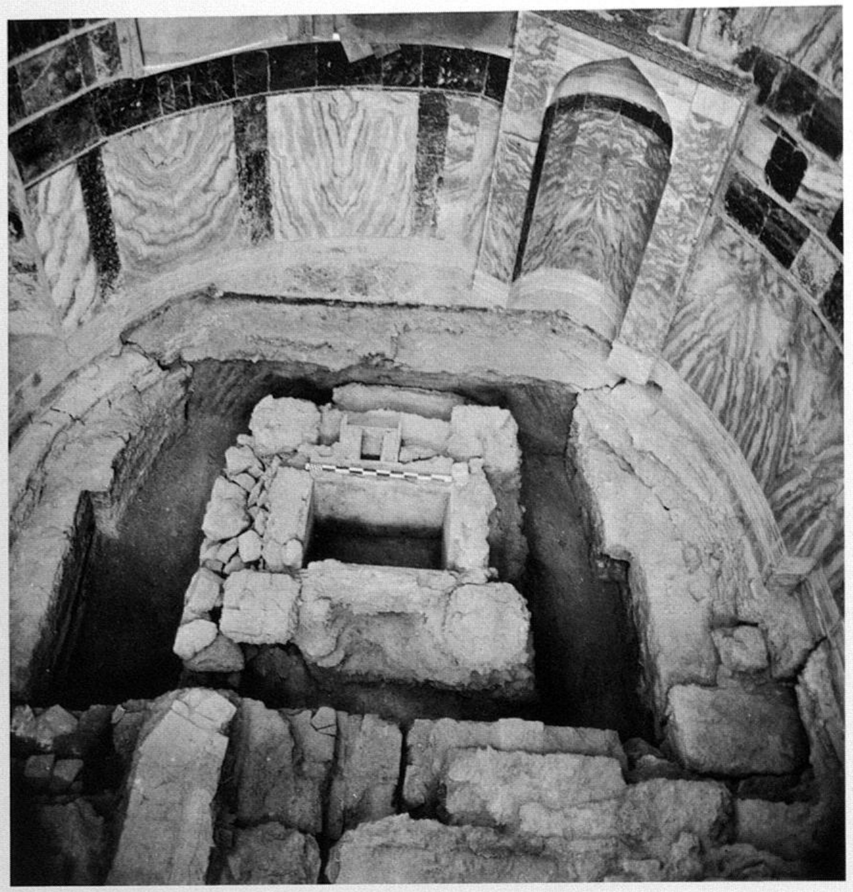
56. Naos. View into dome



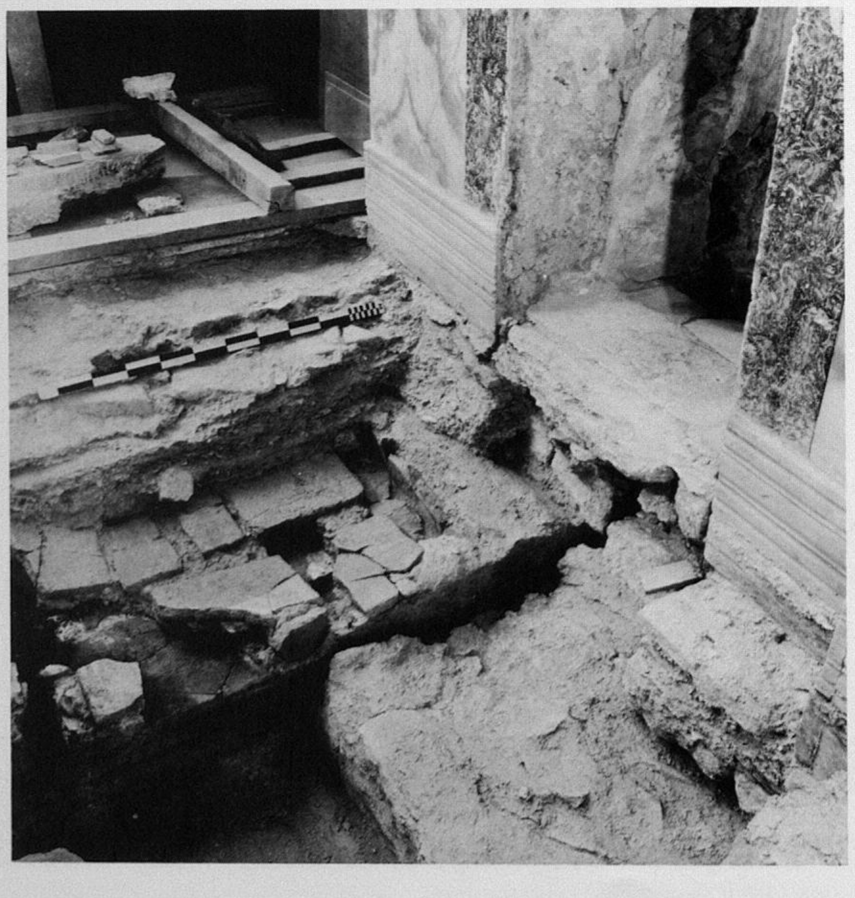
57. Naos. Drum of dome



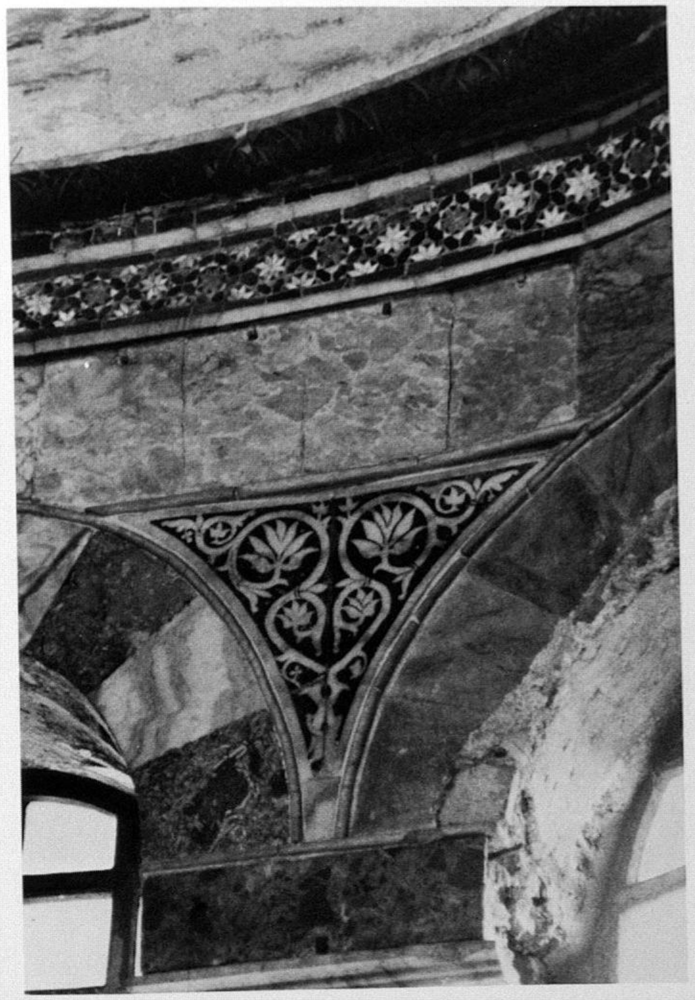
58. Naos. Excavation of north lunette window



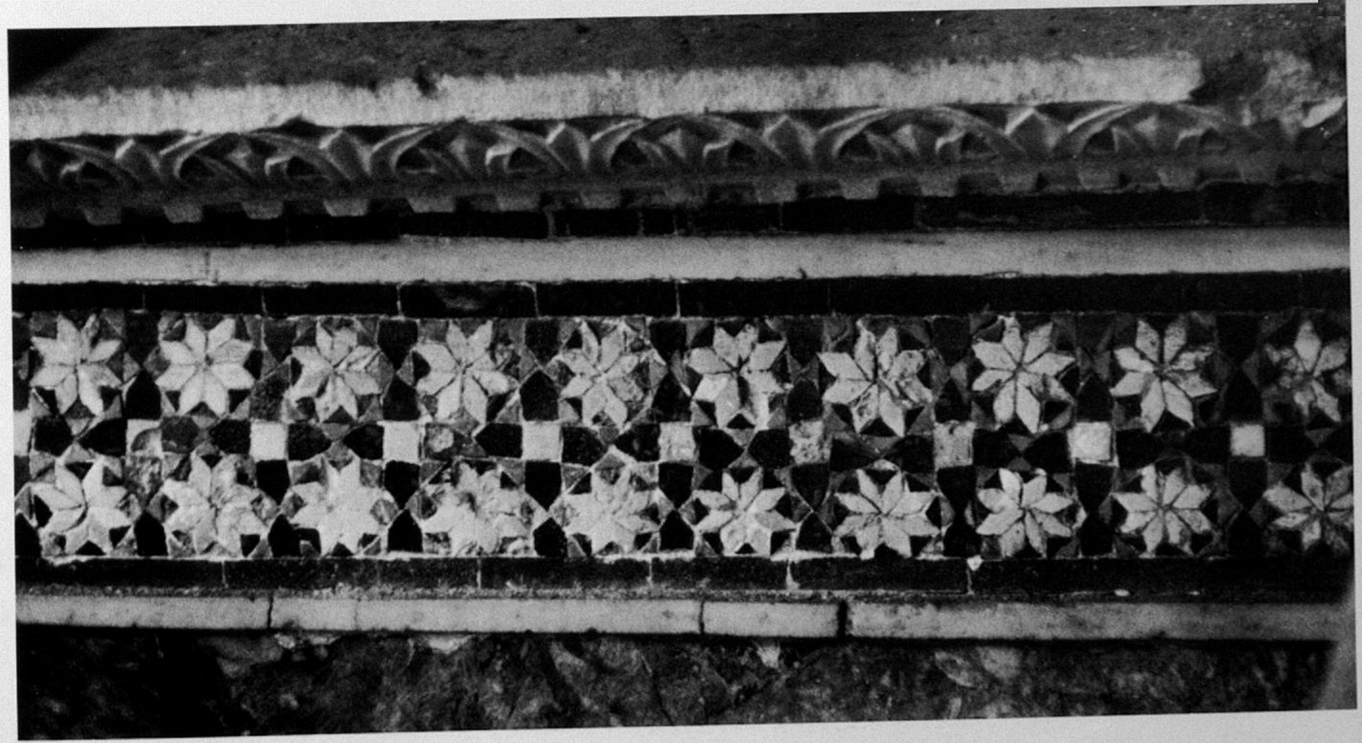
59. Bema. Excavation of floor, looking east



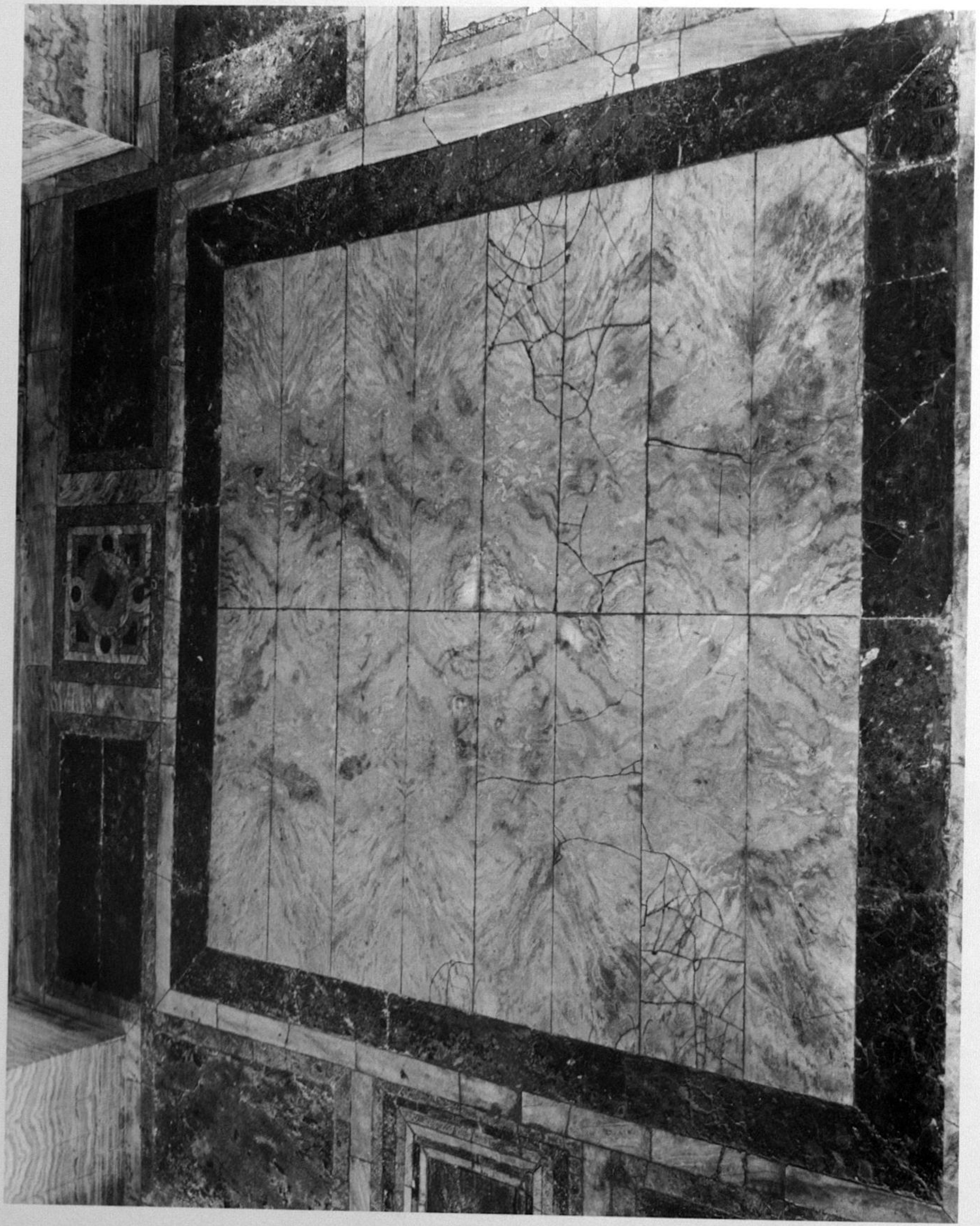
60. Bema. Excavation of floor, looking northwest



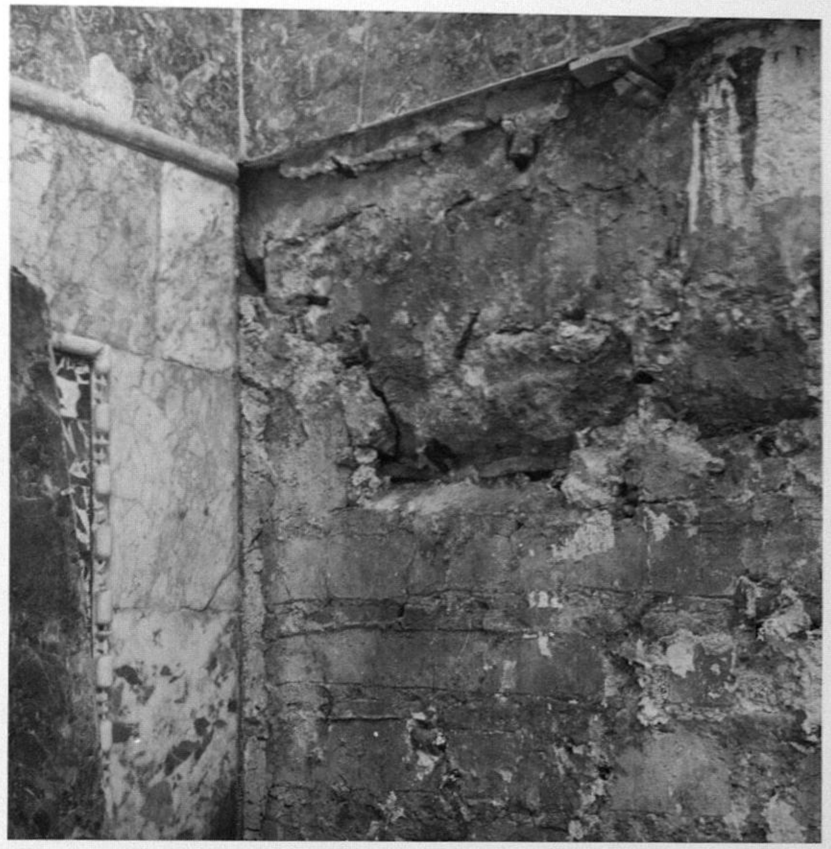
61. Bema. Detail of revetment, champlevé relief panel in apse



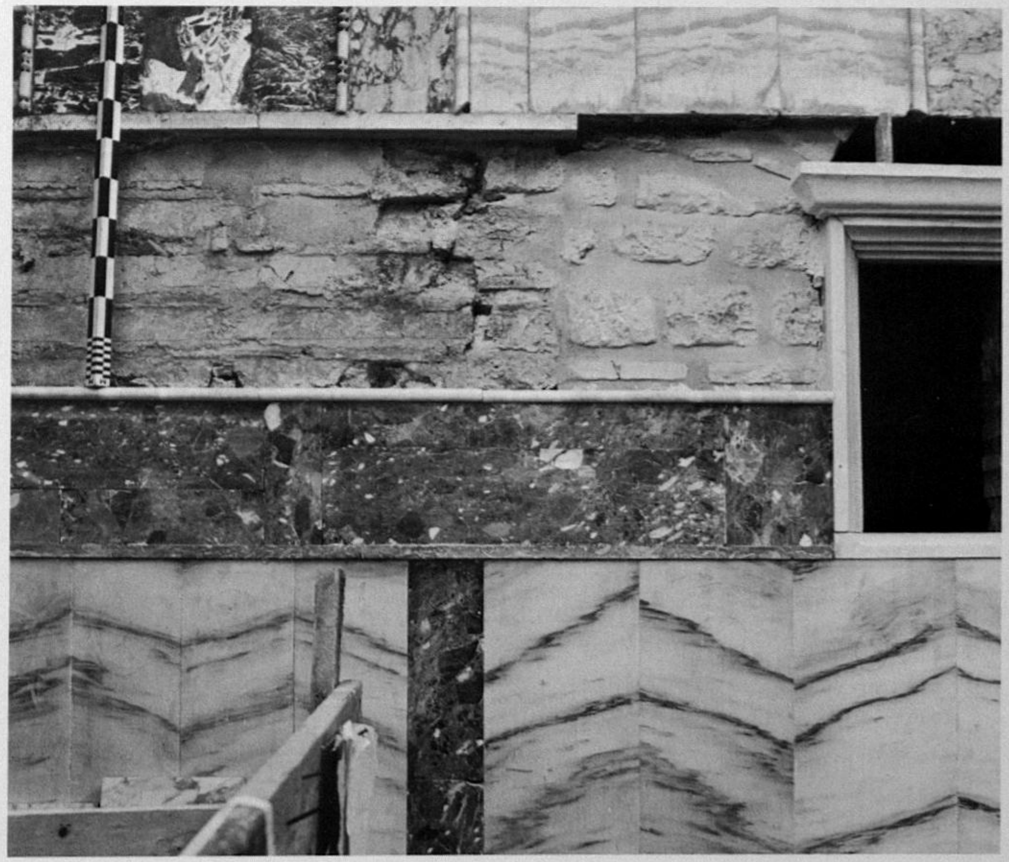
62. Bema. Detail of revetment, decorative border



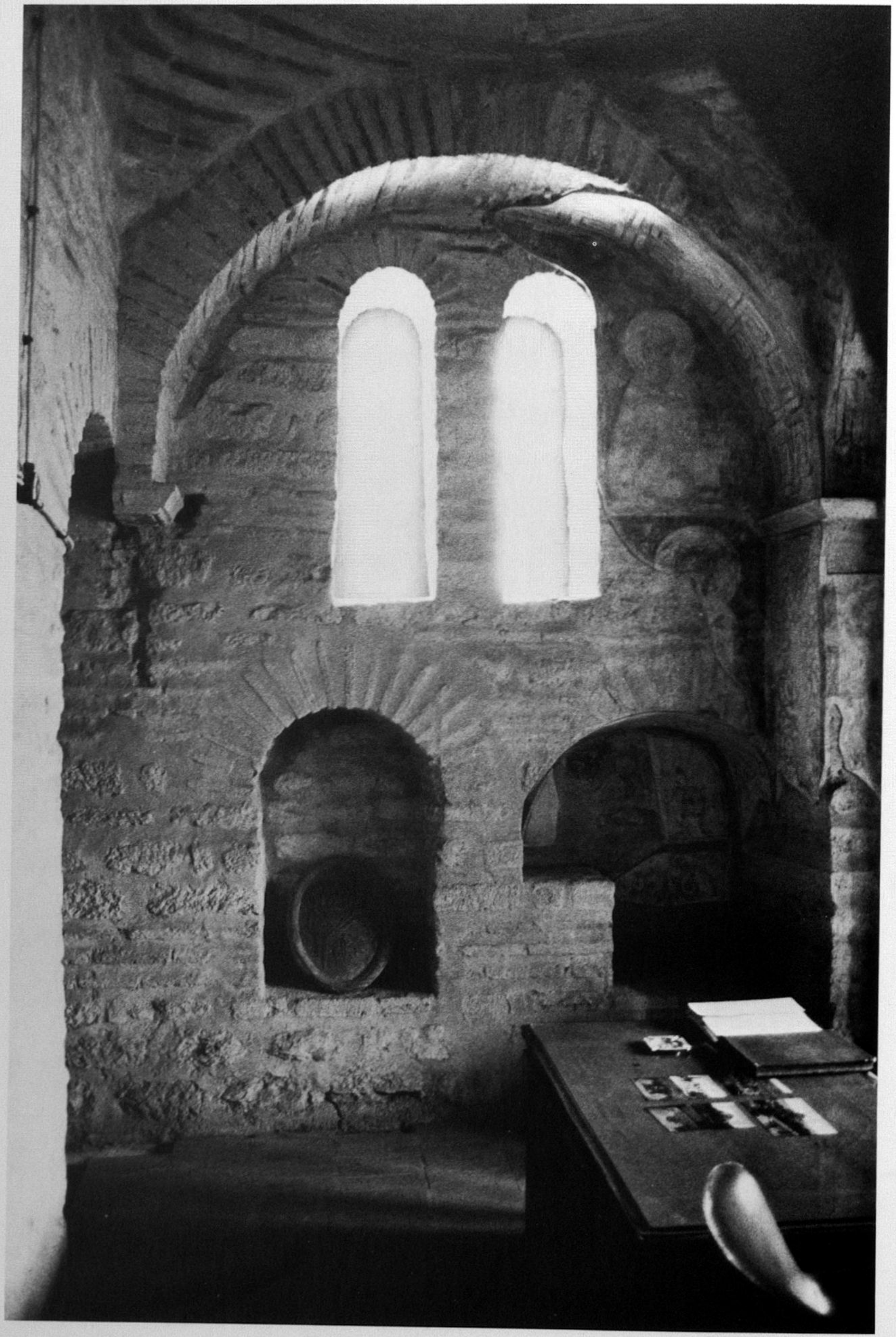
63. Naos. Floor



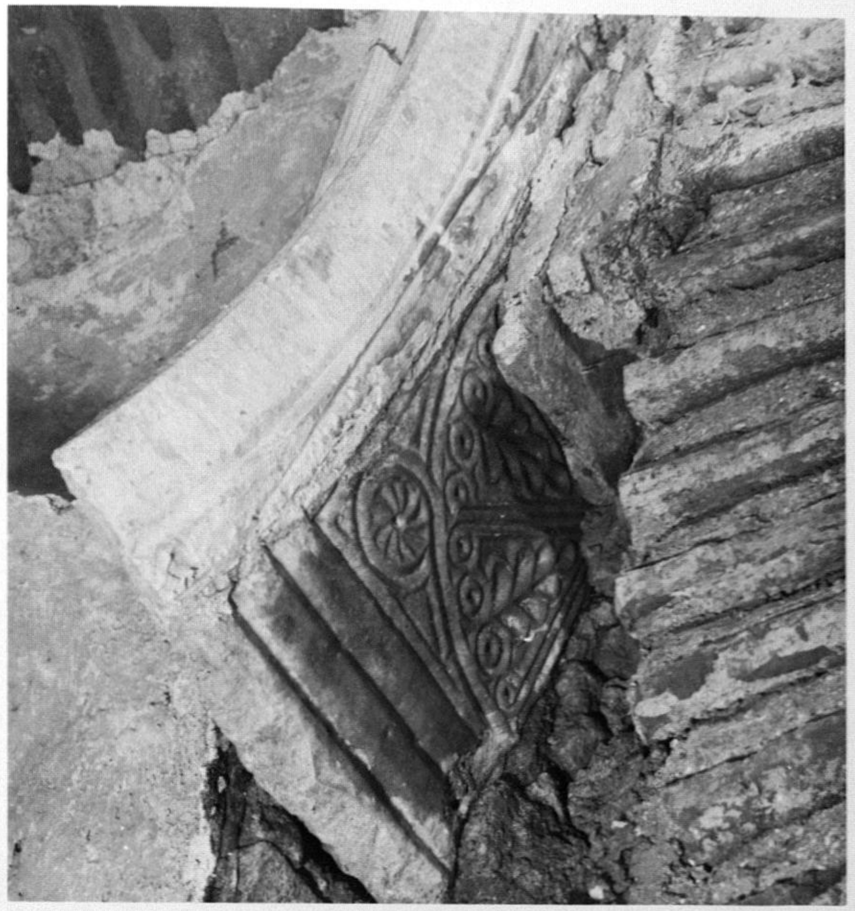
64. Naos. Southwest pier with revetment removed, showing Phase IV masonry



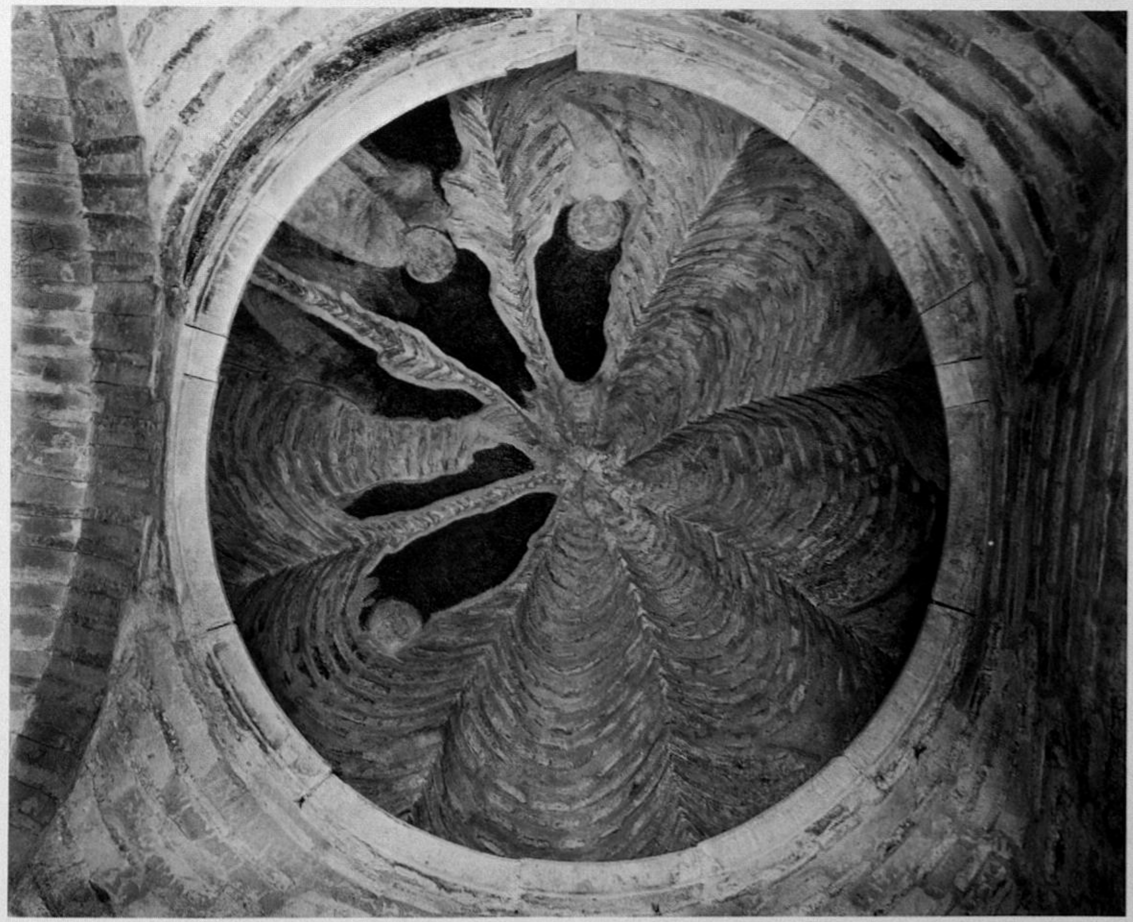
65. Naos. South wall, with revetment removed, showing Phase III, Phase IV, and modern masonry



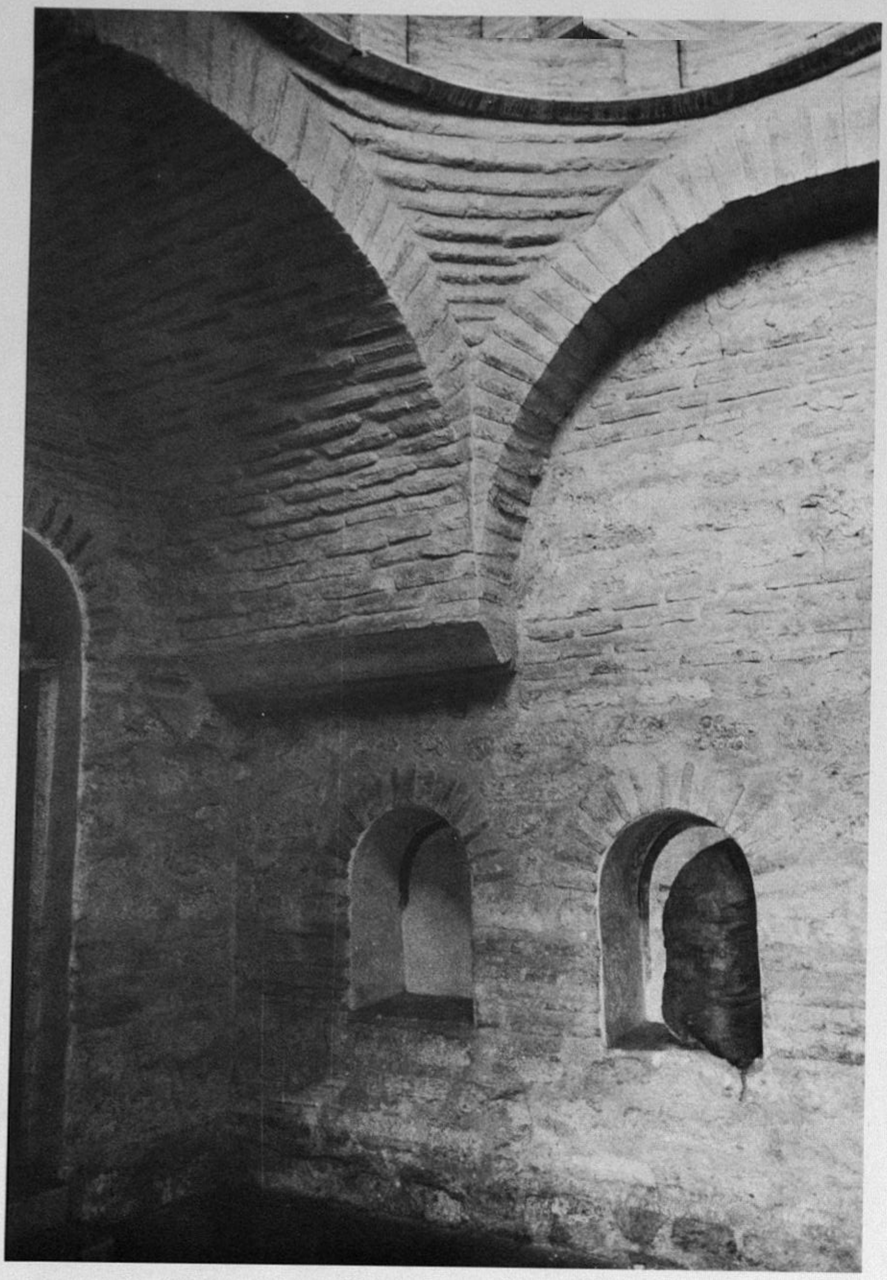
66. Prothesis. Looking north



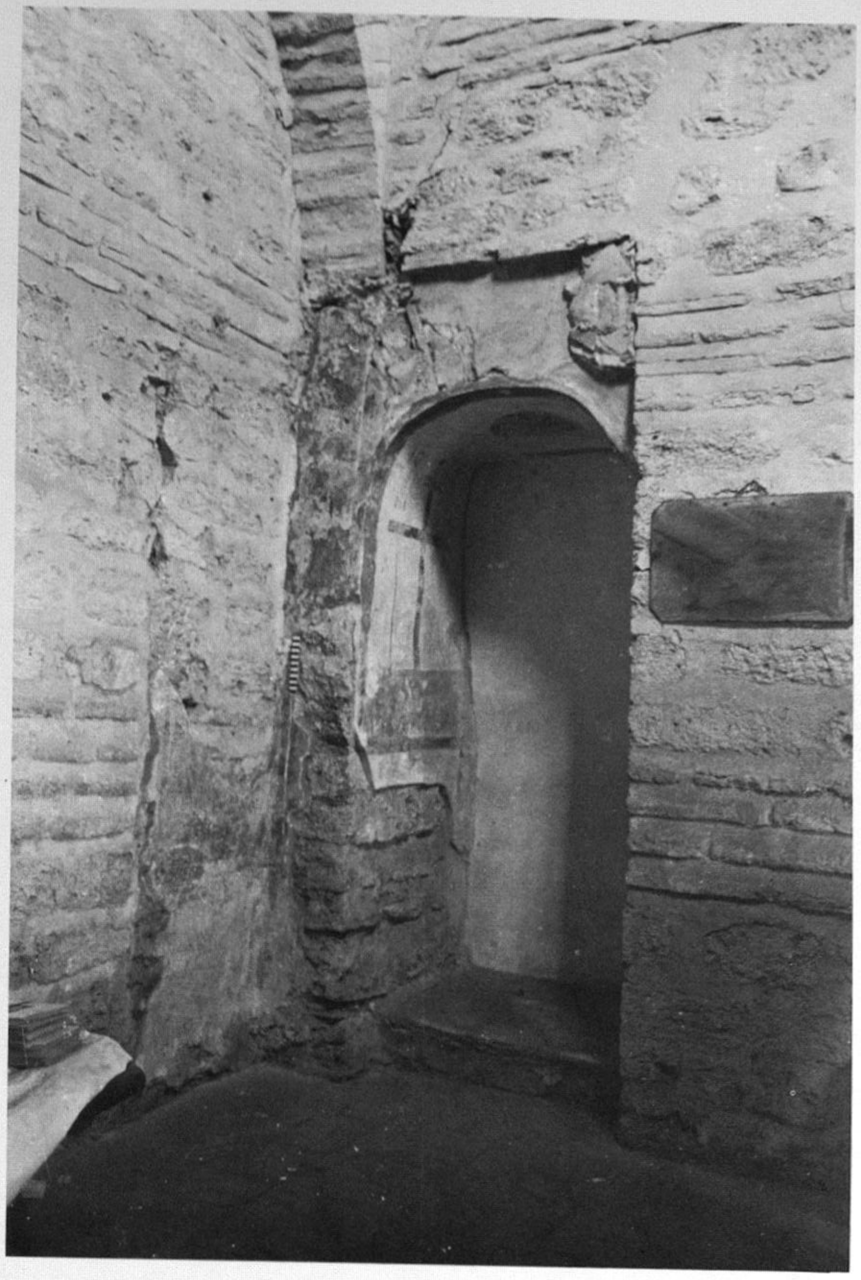
68. Prothesis. Recarved parapet fragment in dome cornice



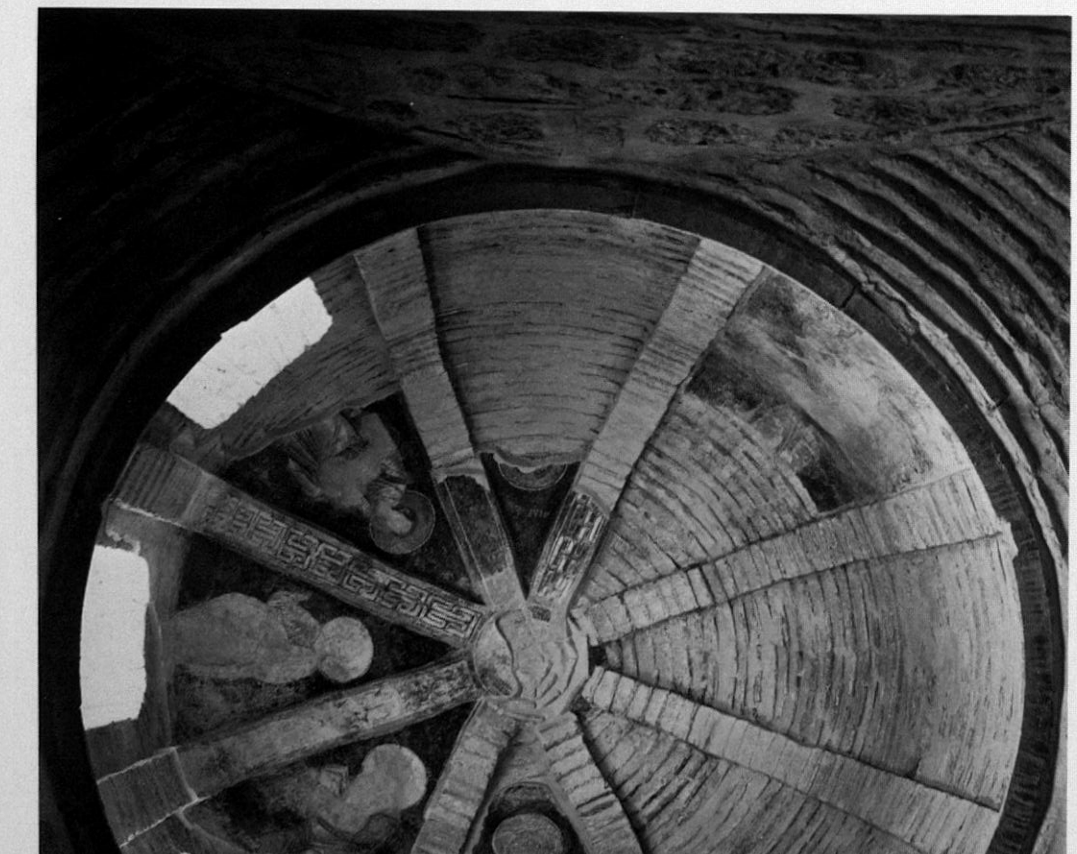
67. Prothesis. Dome



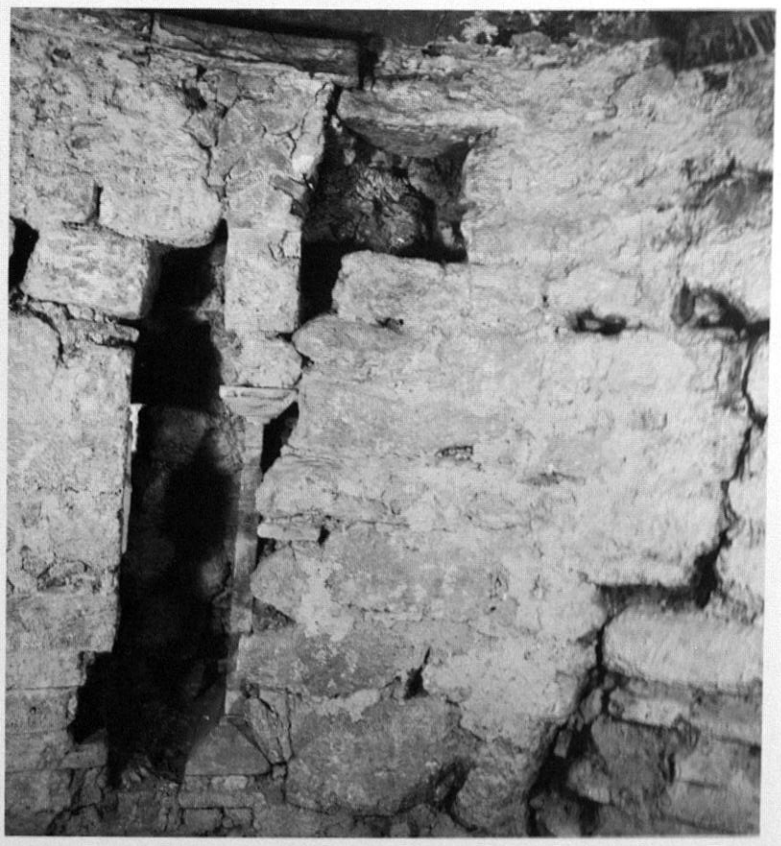
69. Diaconicon. Southwest corner; corbel and niches



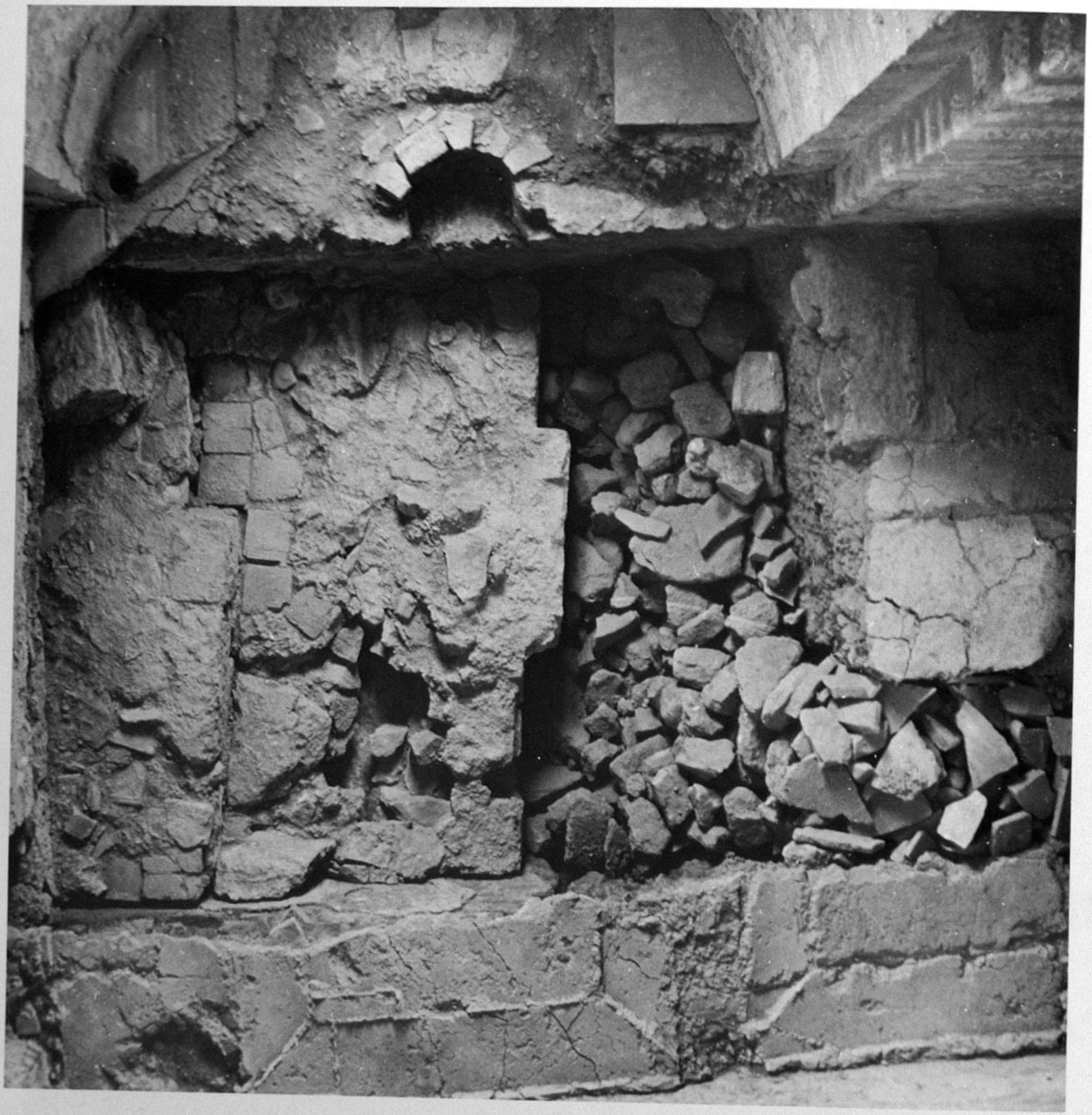
70. Diaconicon. Northwest corner; blocked door



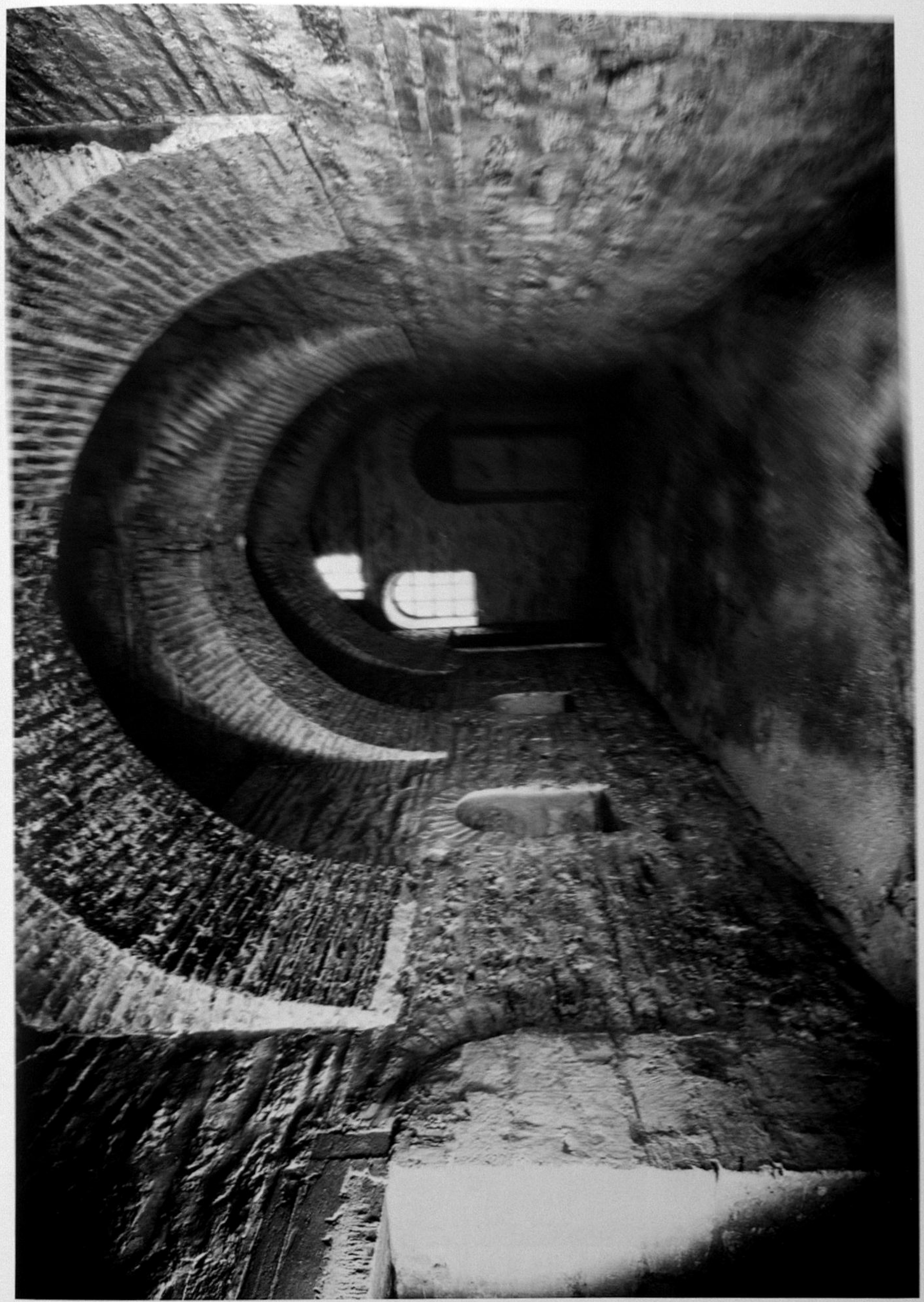
71. Diaconicon. Dome



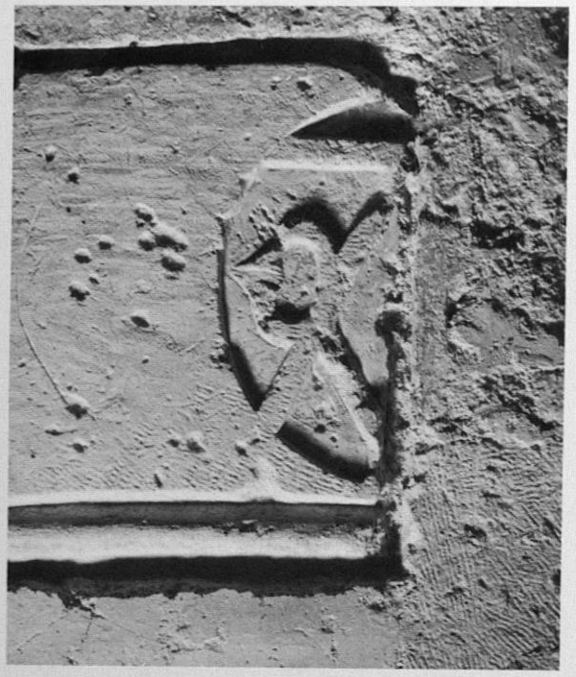
72. Diaconicon. Apse window during excavation



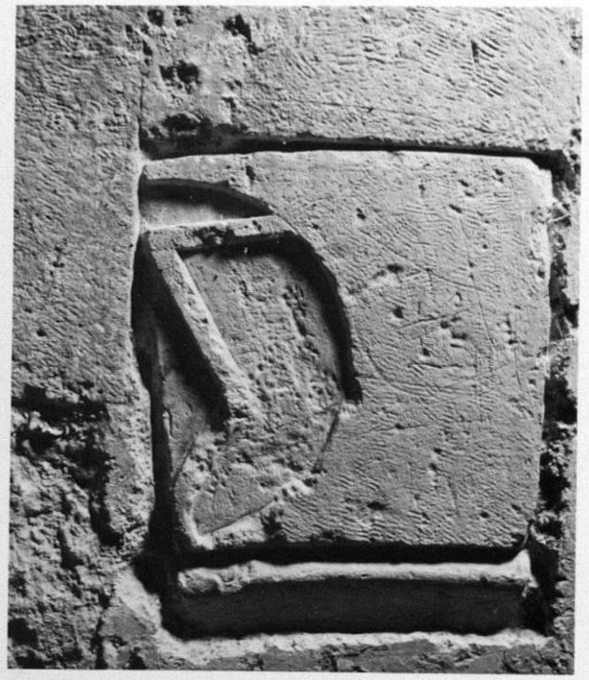
73. Diaconicon. Floor during excavation



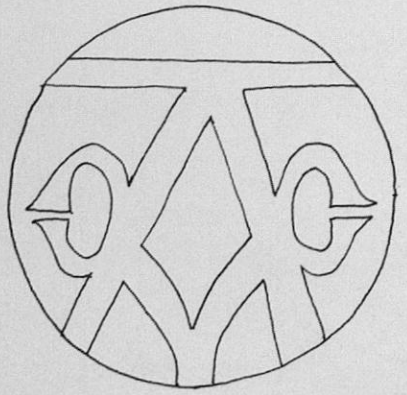
74. Northern annex. Passageway A, looking east



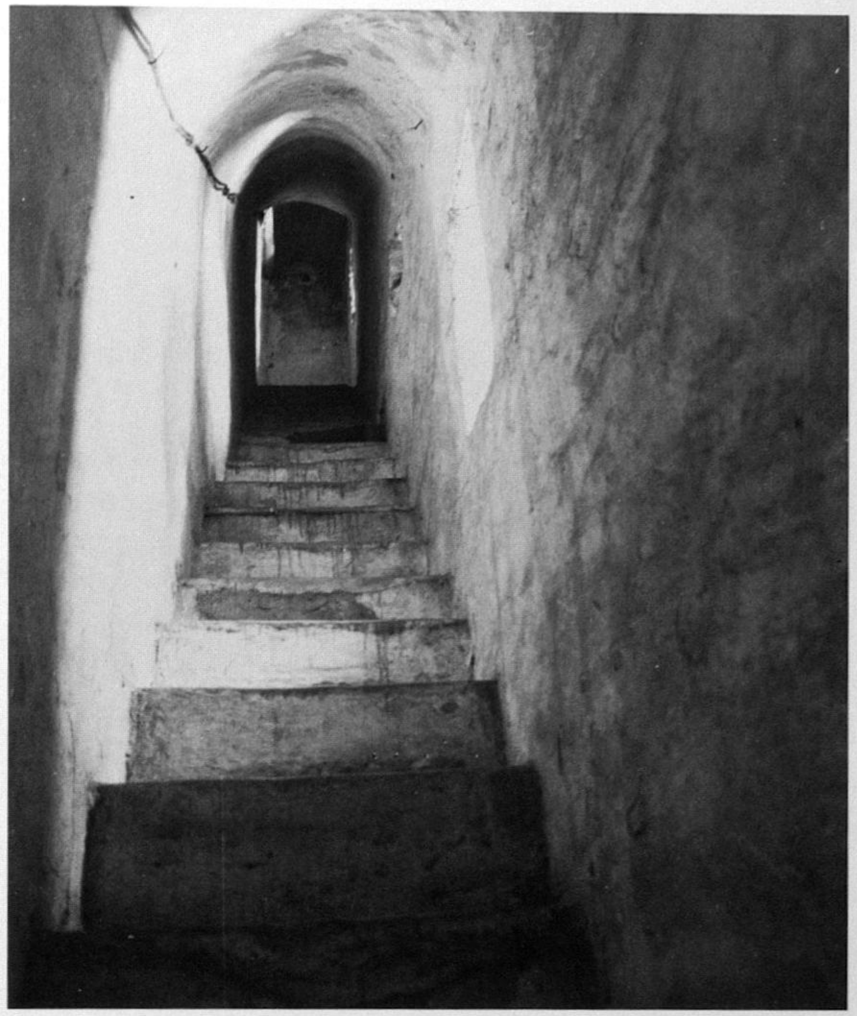
75. Northern annex. Passageway A, monogram fragment, left half



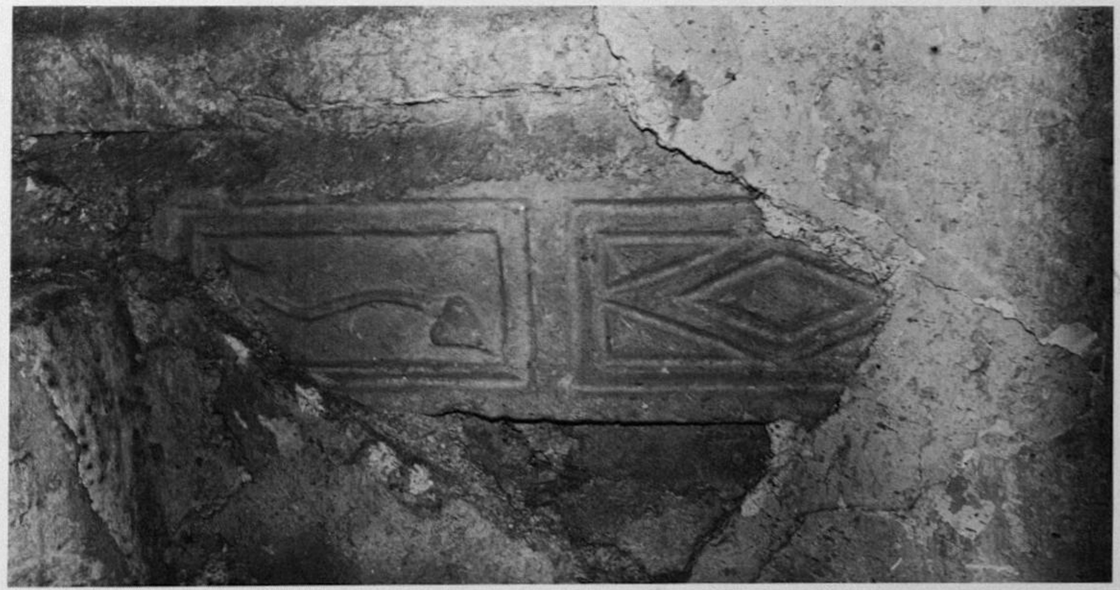
76. Northern annex. Passageway A; monogram fragment, right half



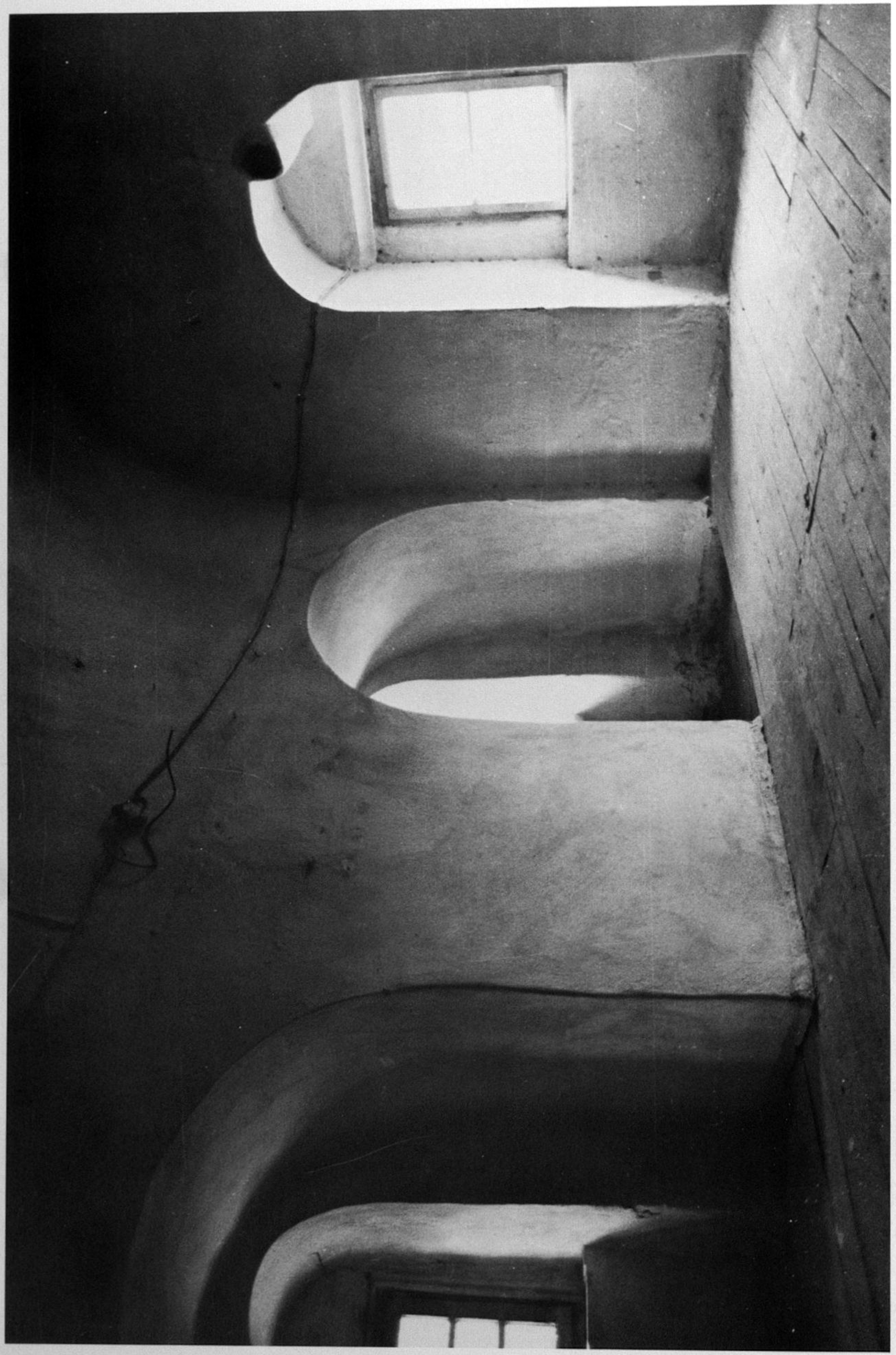
77. Reconstructed monogram reading ACANHC



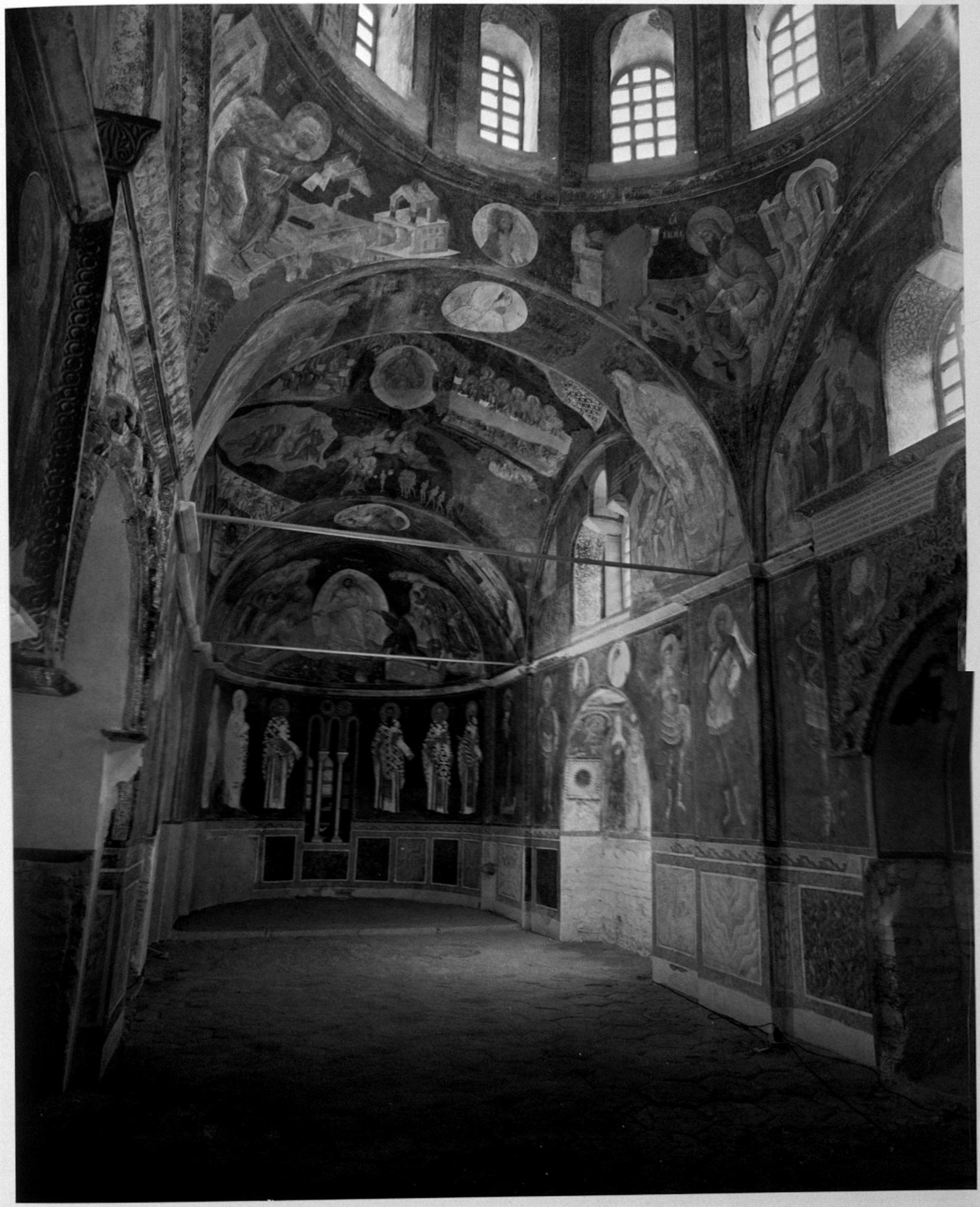
78. Northern annex. Staircase, looking west



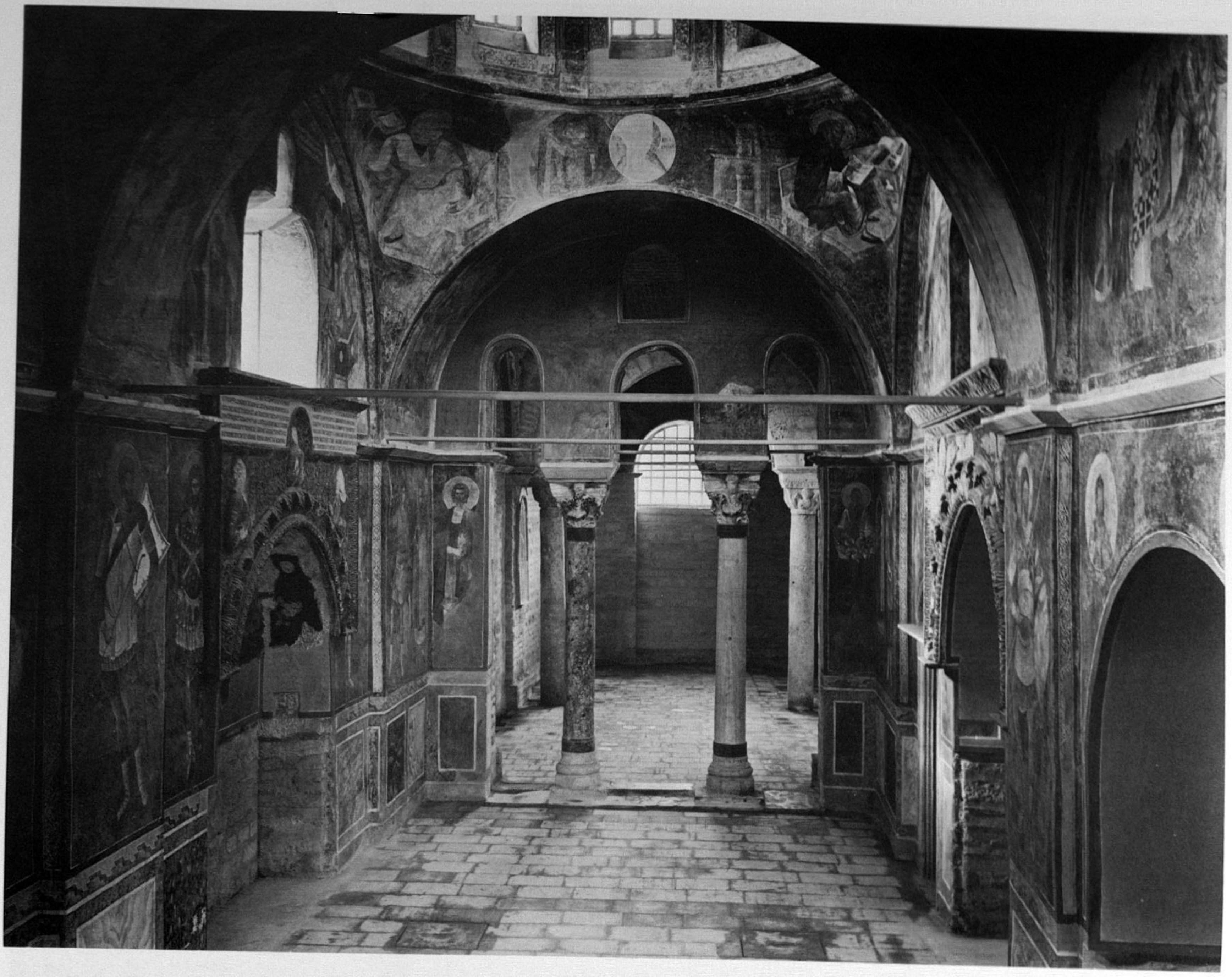
79. Northern annex. Staircase, sculptural fragment



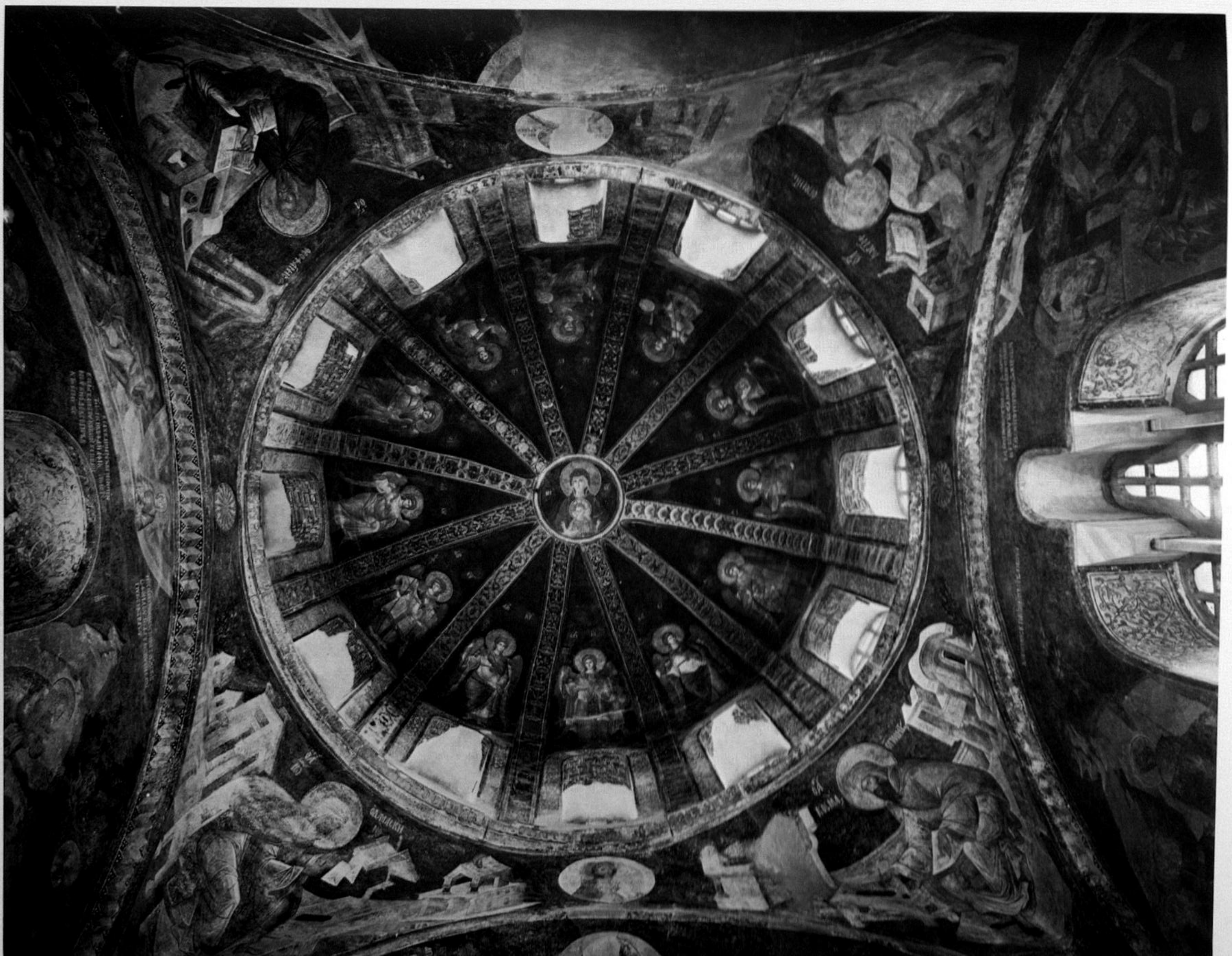
80. Northern annex. Upper chamber, looking west



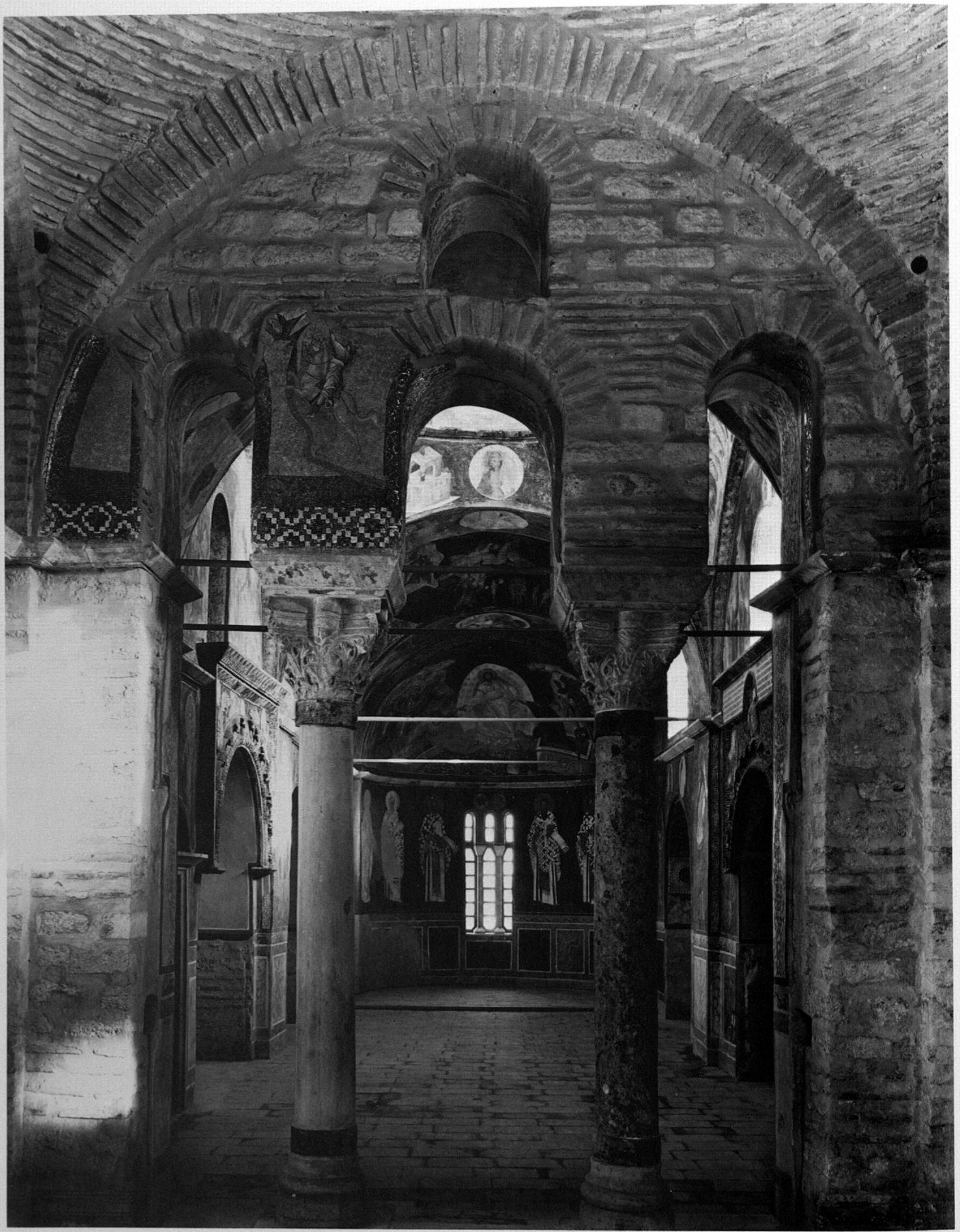
81. Parecclesion. Looking east



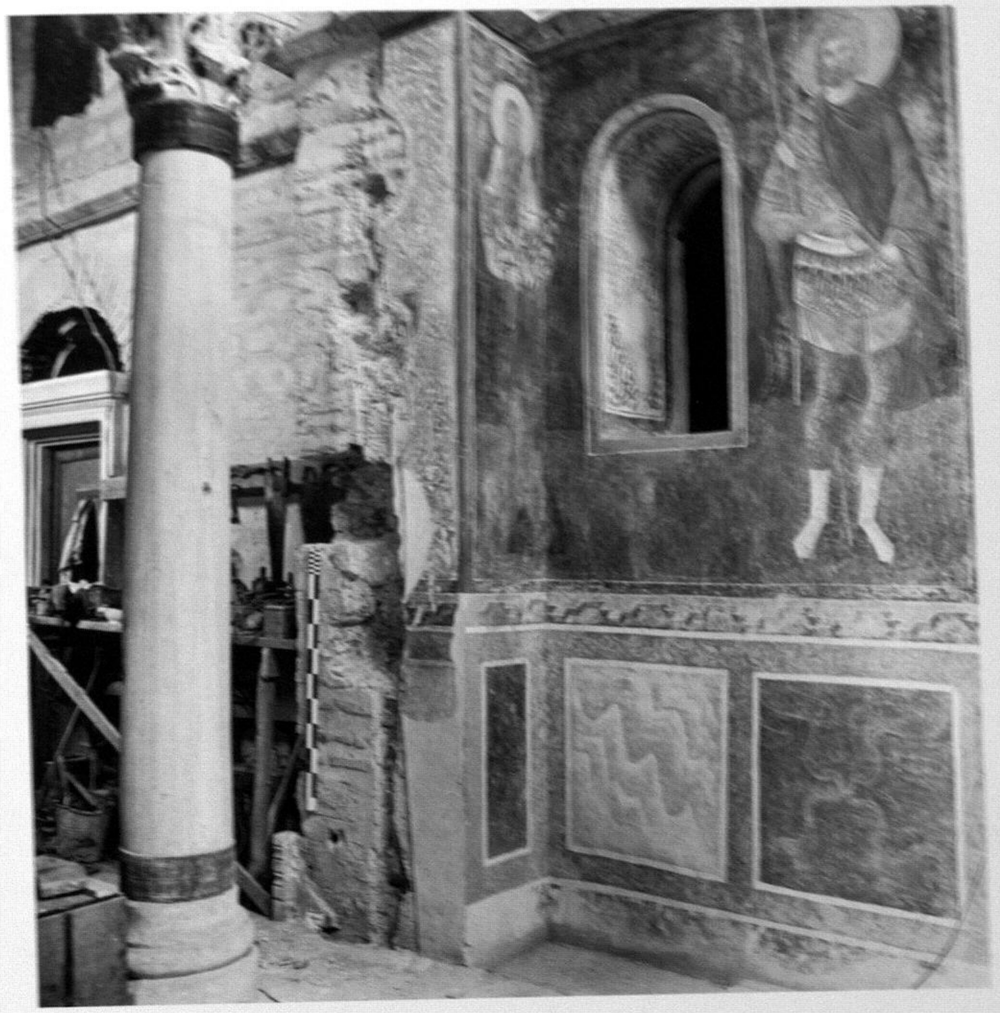
82. Parecclesion. Looking west



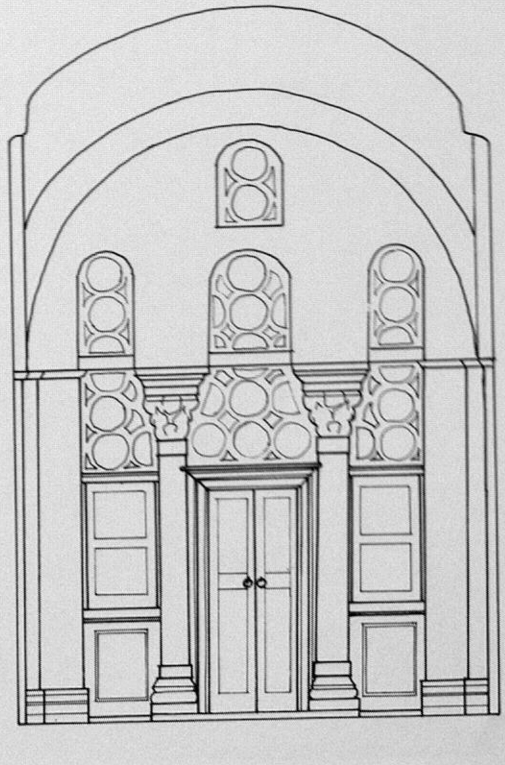
83. Parecclesion. Dome



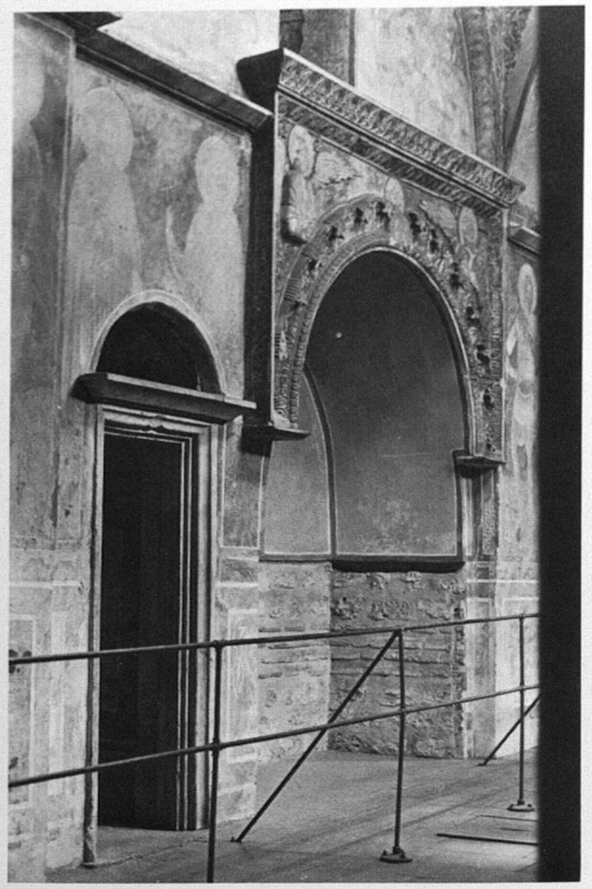
84. Parecclesion. Entrance, looking east



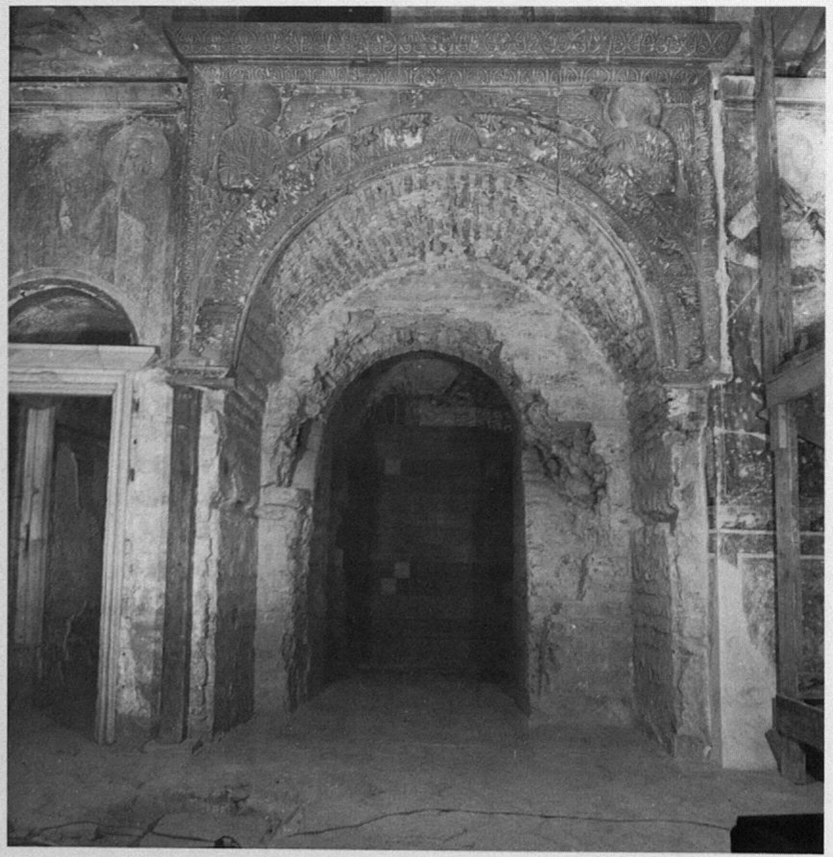
85. Parecclesion. Entrance, north spur wall during excavation



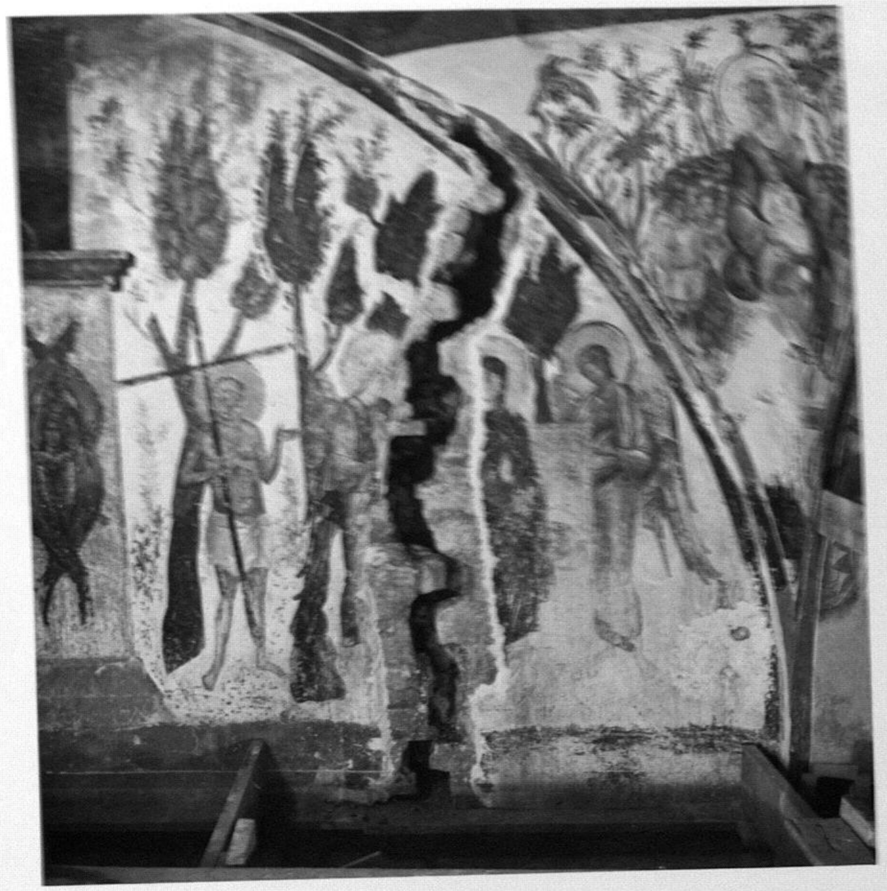
86. Parecclesion. Entrance, hypothetical reconstruction



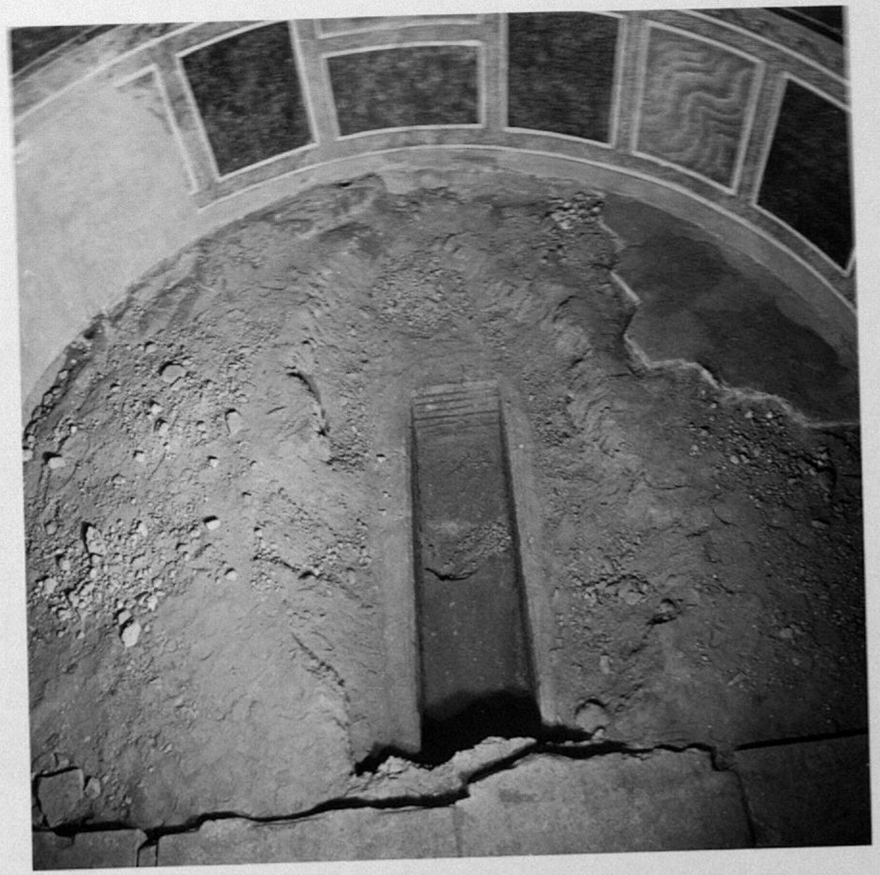
87. Parecclesion. Tomb A and entrance to Passageway B



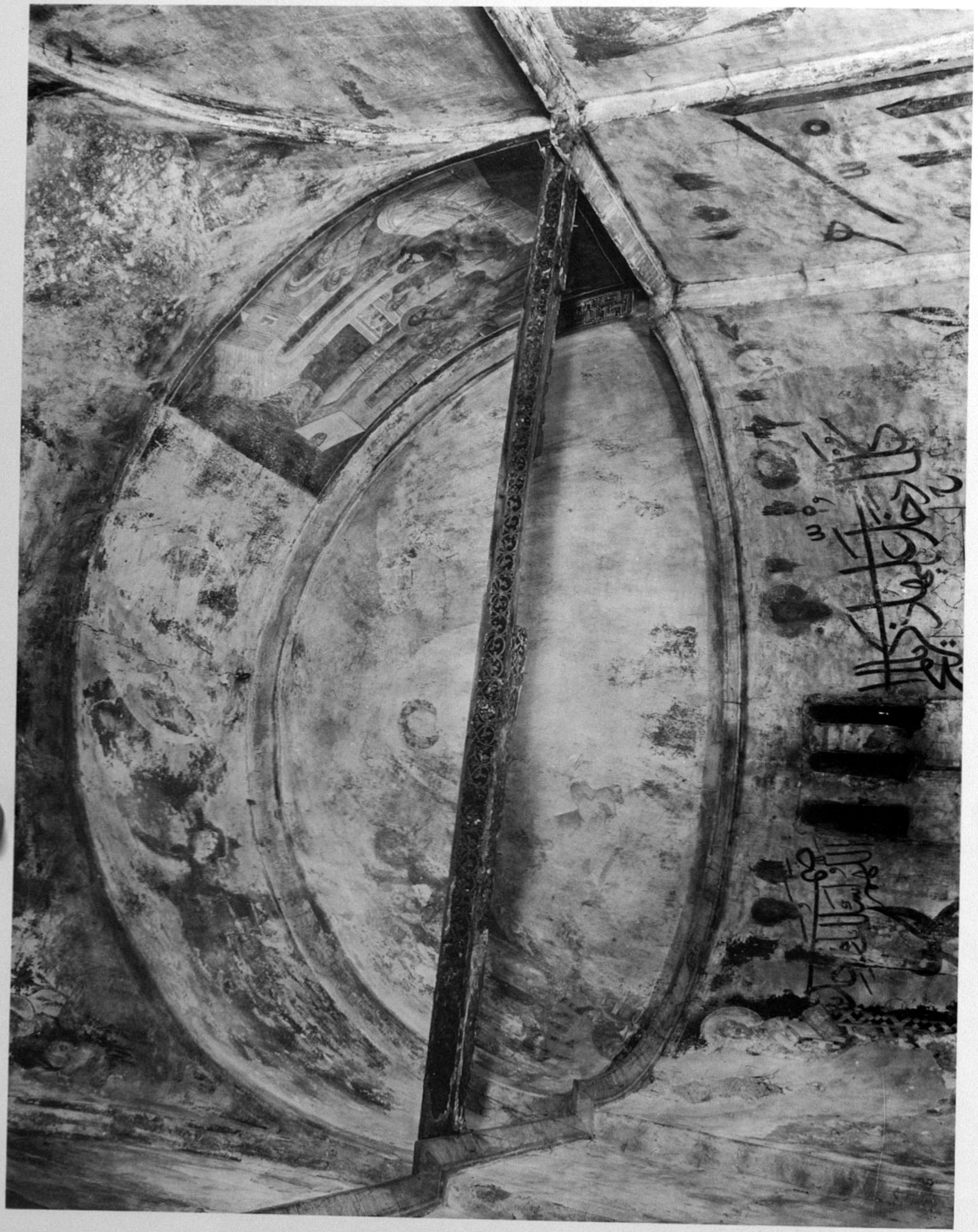
88. Parecclesion. Tomb A before restoration



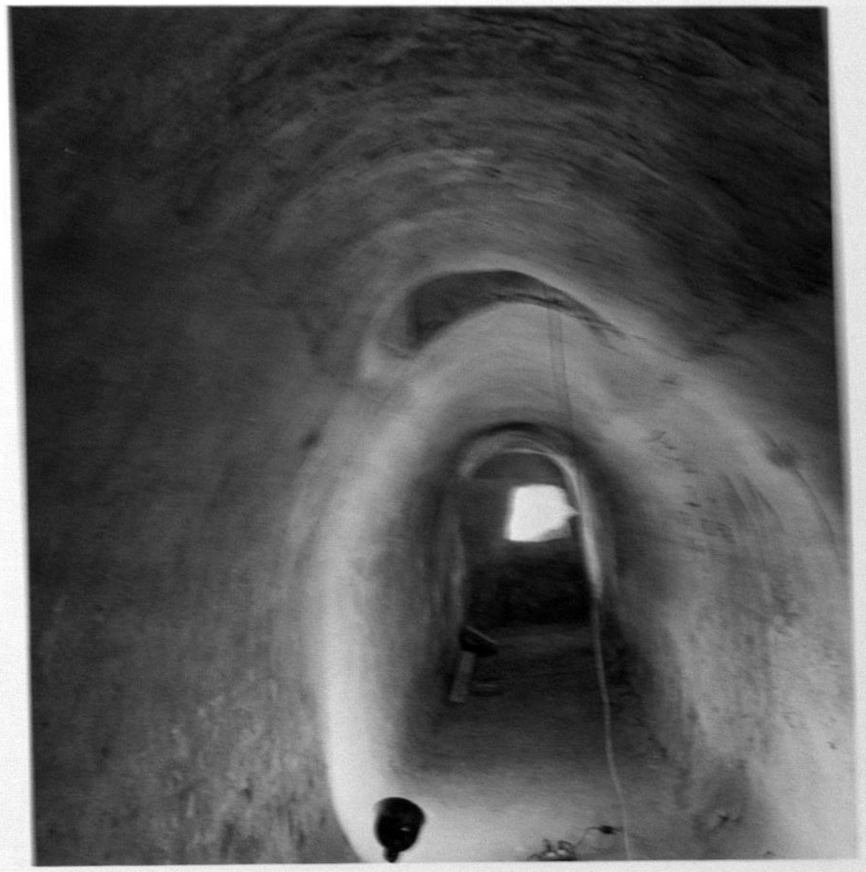
89. Parecclesion. North wall; structural crack, during restoration



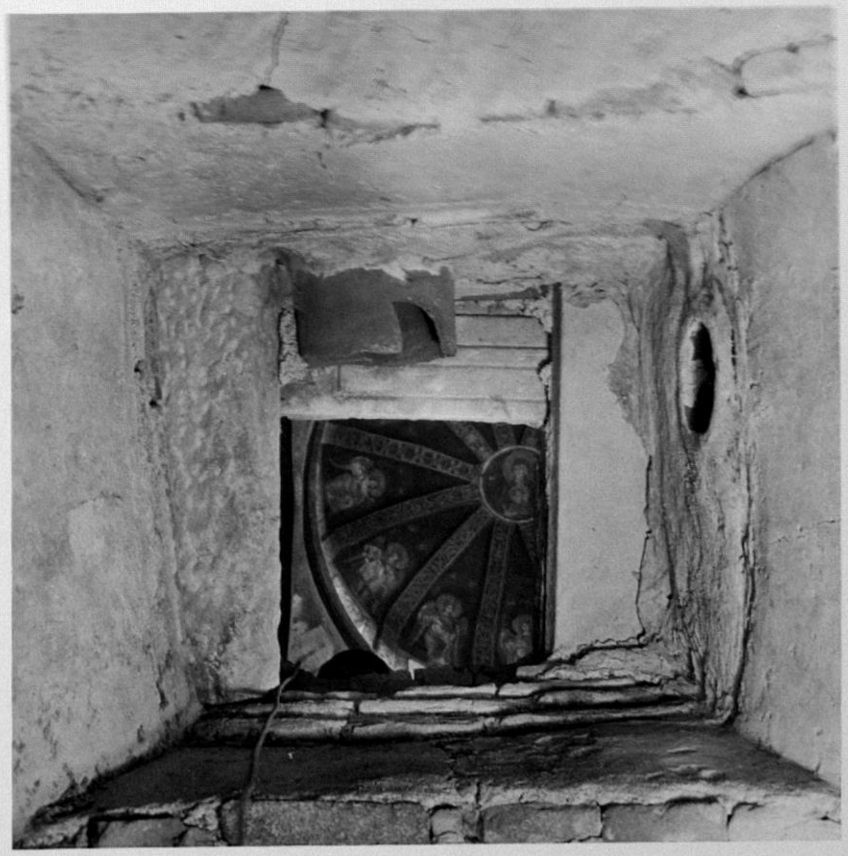
90. Parecclesion. Tomb excavated in apse



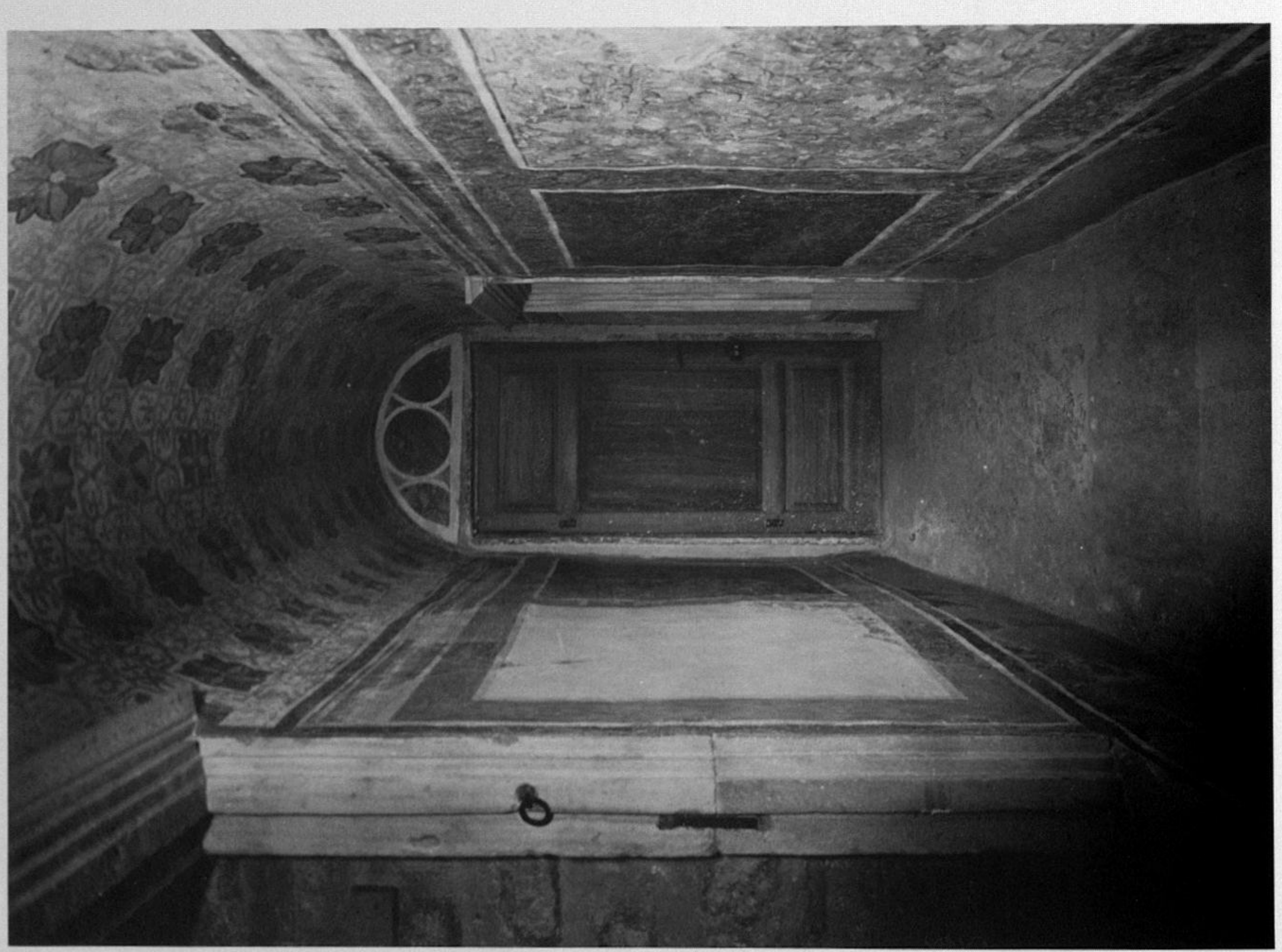
91. Parecclesion. Apse with original tie beam, before restoration

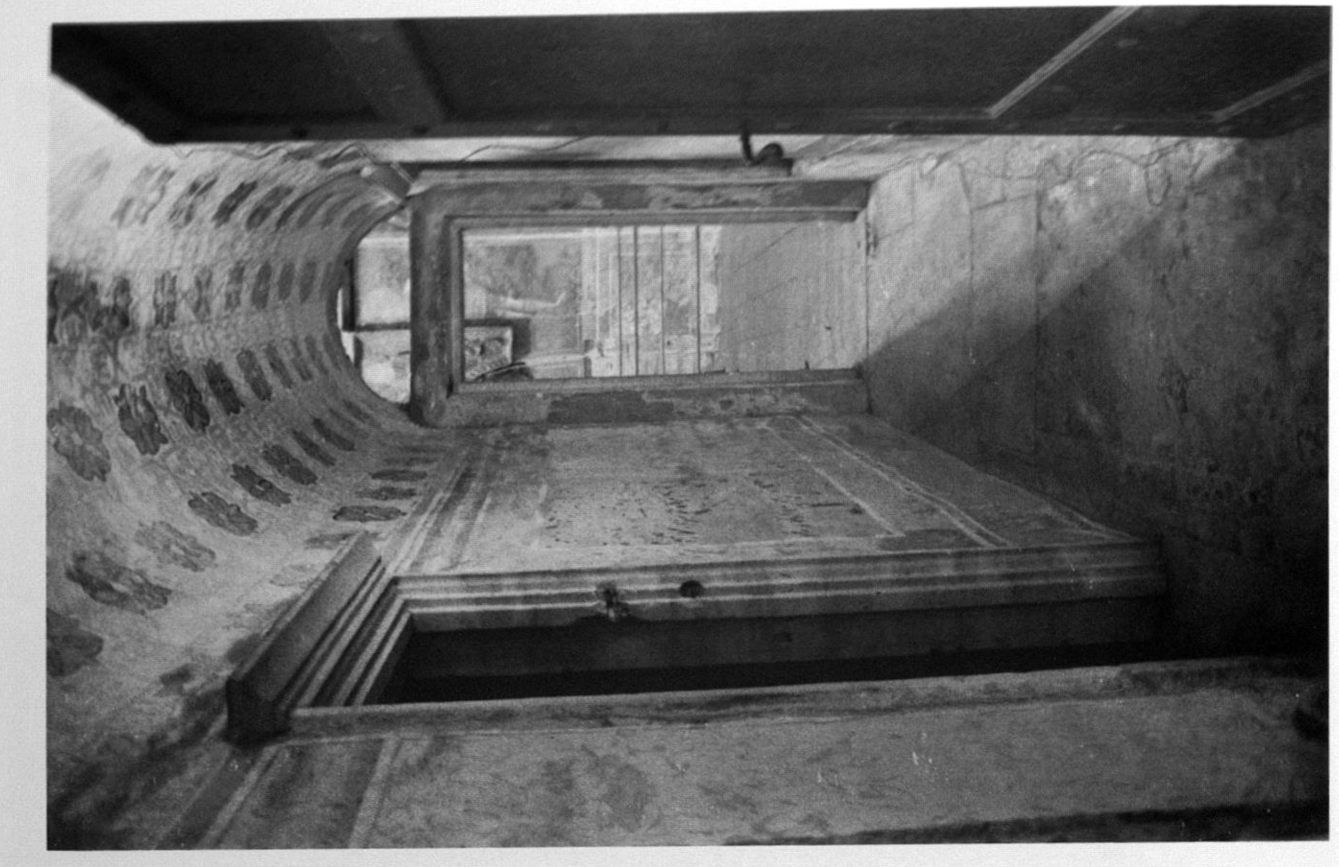


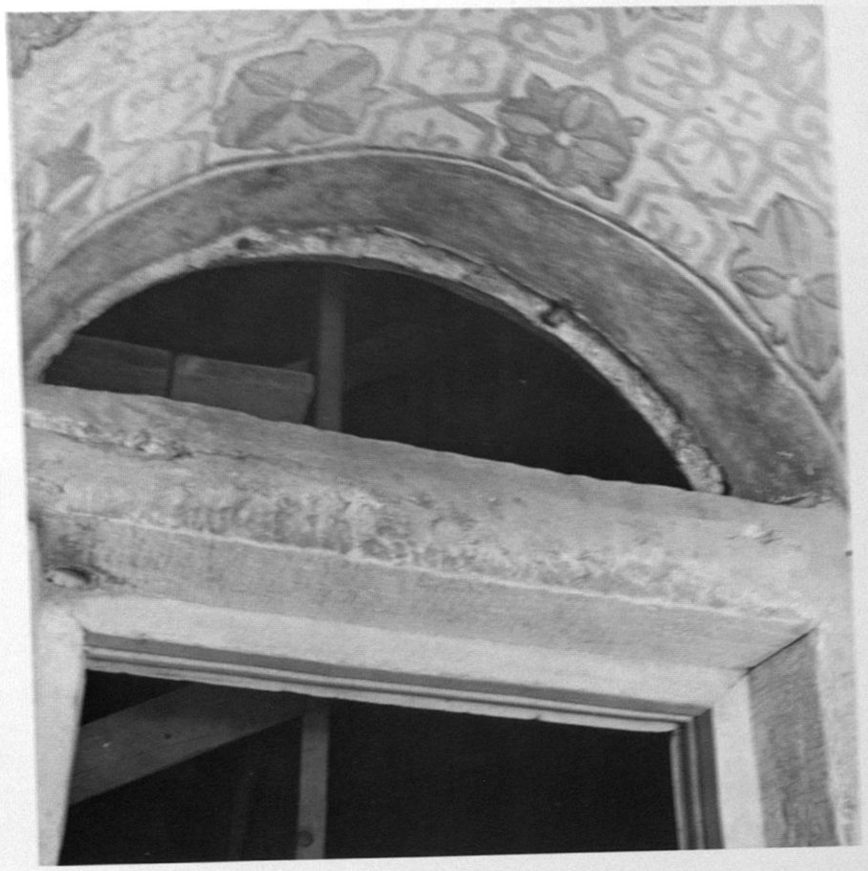
92. South cistern below parecclesion. Looking east

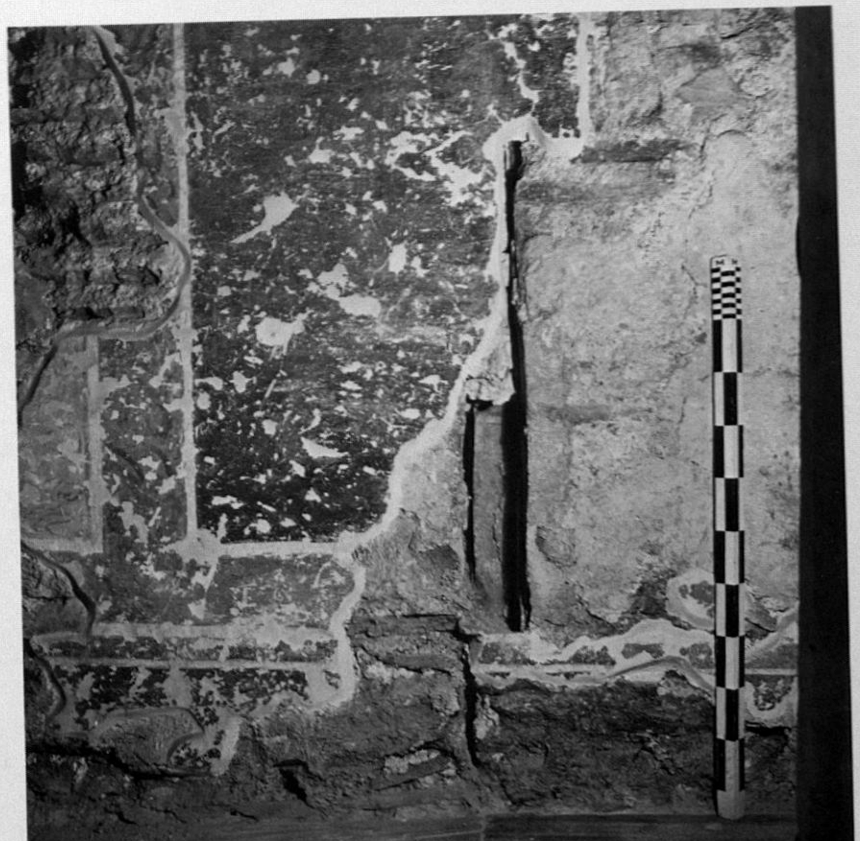


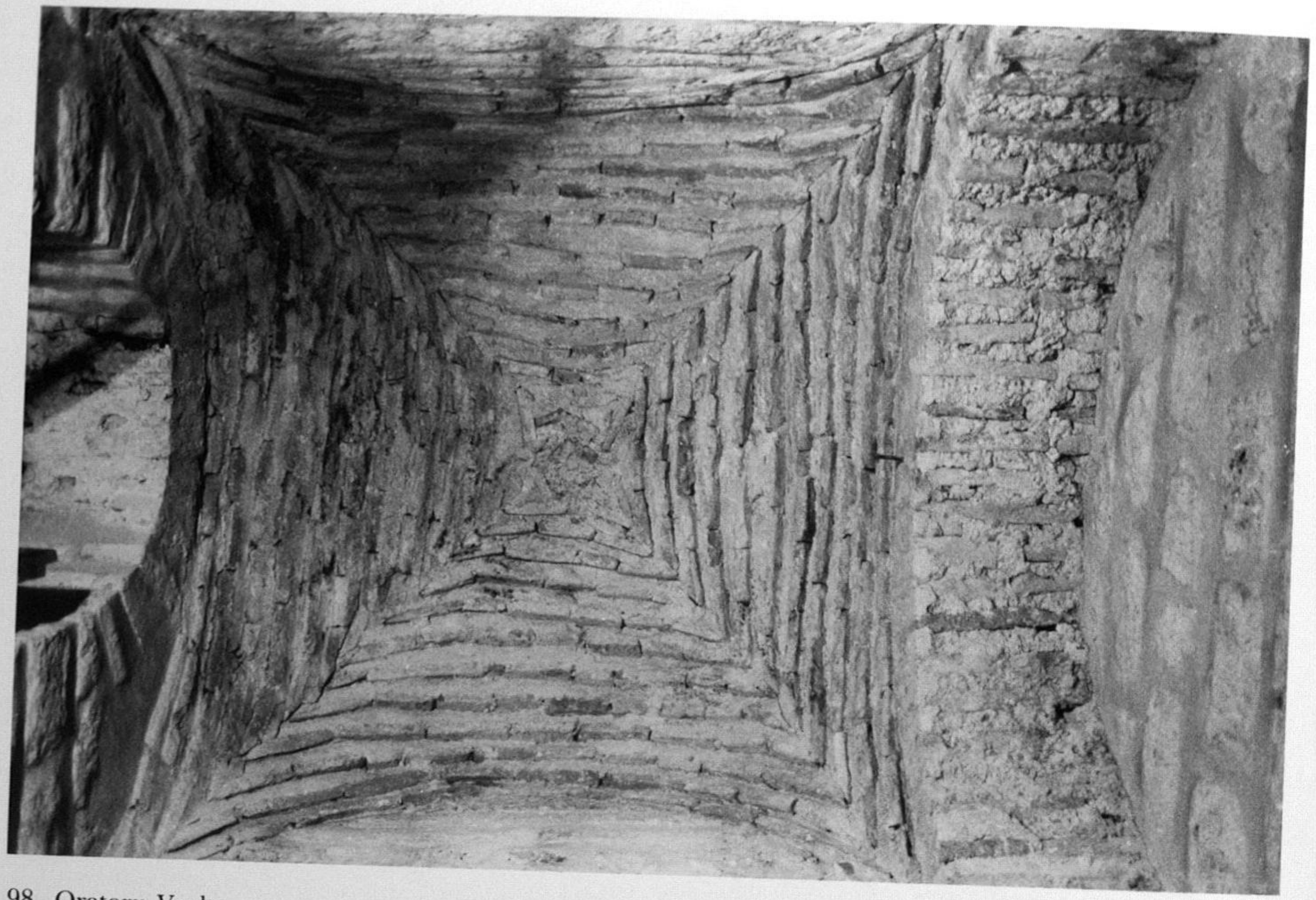
93. South cistern below parecclesion. West shaft, looking up


94. Passageway B. Looking north

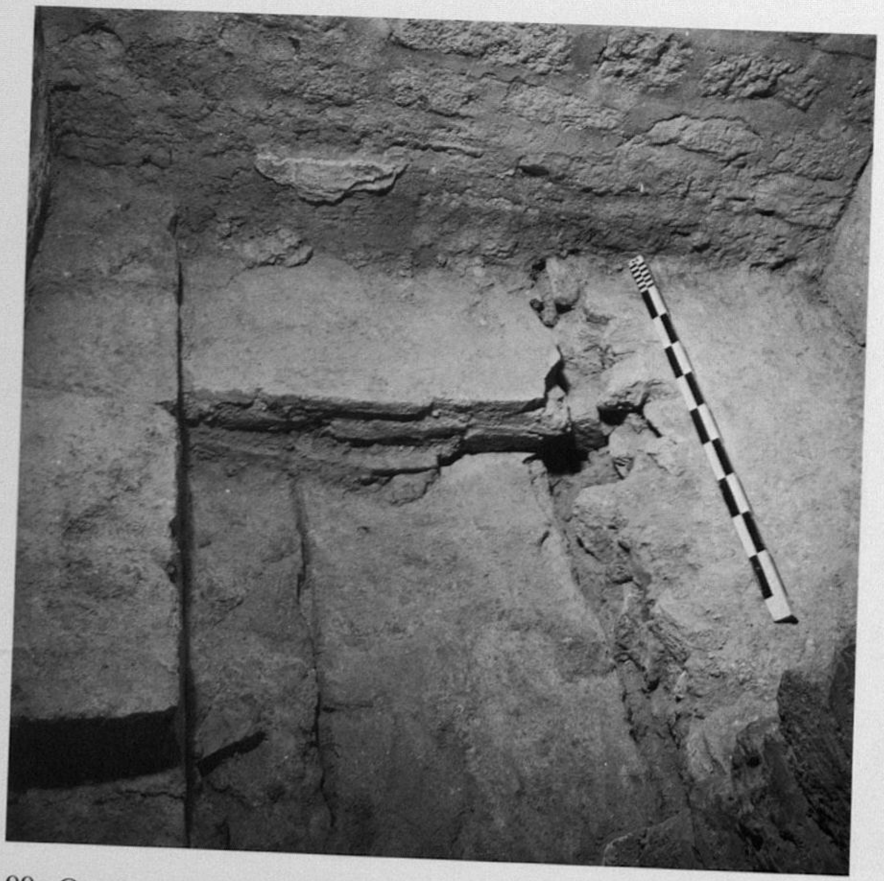

95. Passageway B. Looking south


96. Passageway B. South window, detail

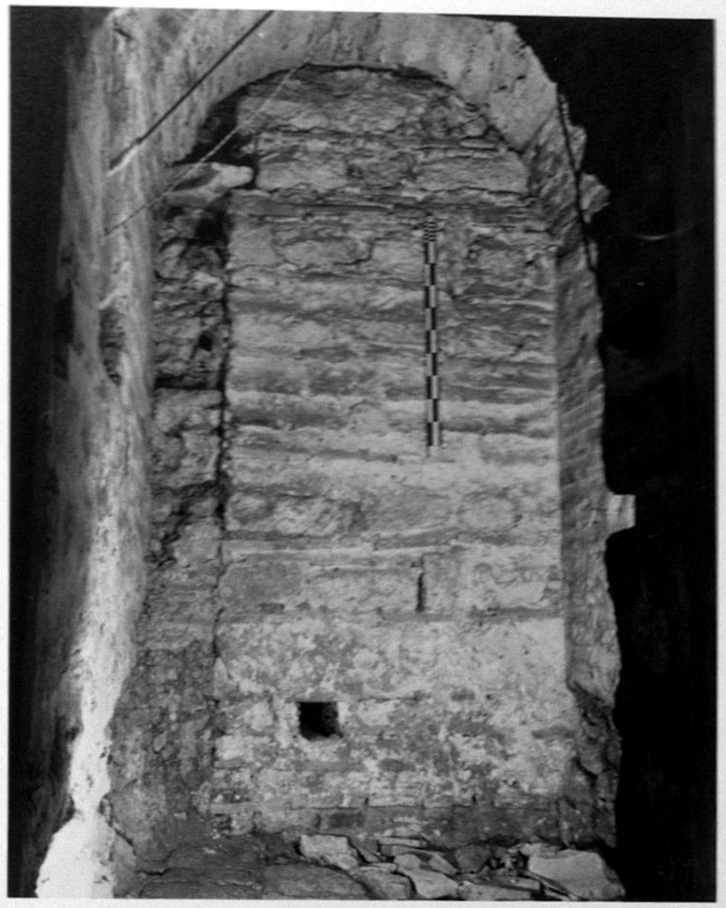

97. Passageway B. West wall during excavation; setback in Phase III wall



98. Oratory. Vault

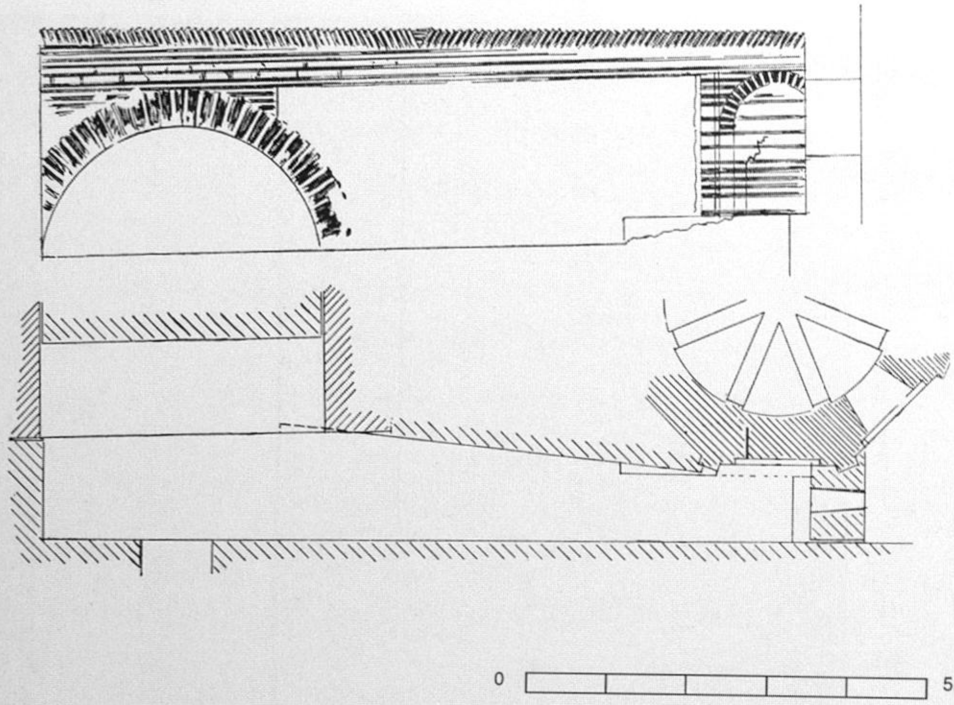


99. Oratory. Looking east, during excavation, showing Phase III, Phase IV, and Phase V foundations and Phase V wall

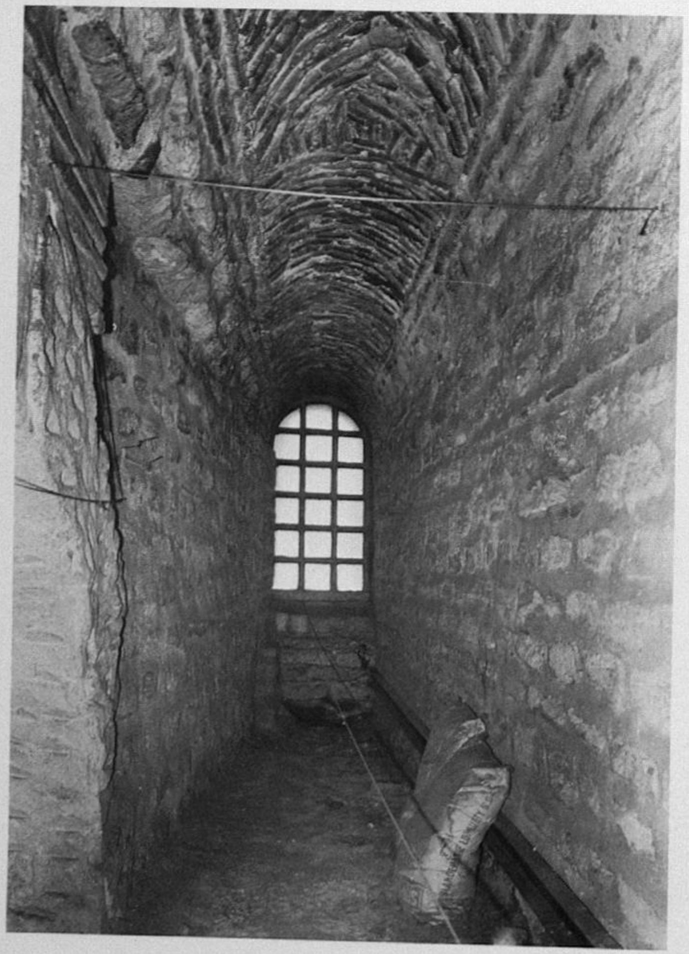


100. Storeroom. Looking west, showing Phase III and Phase IV wall surfaces

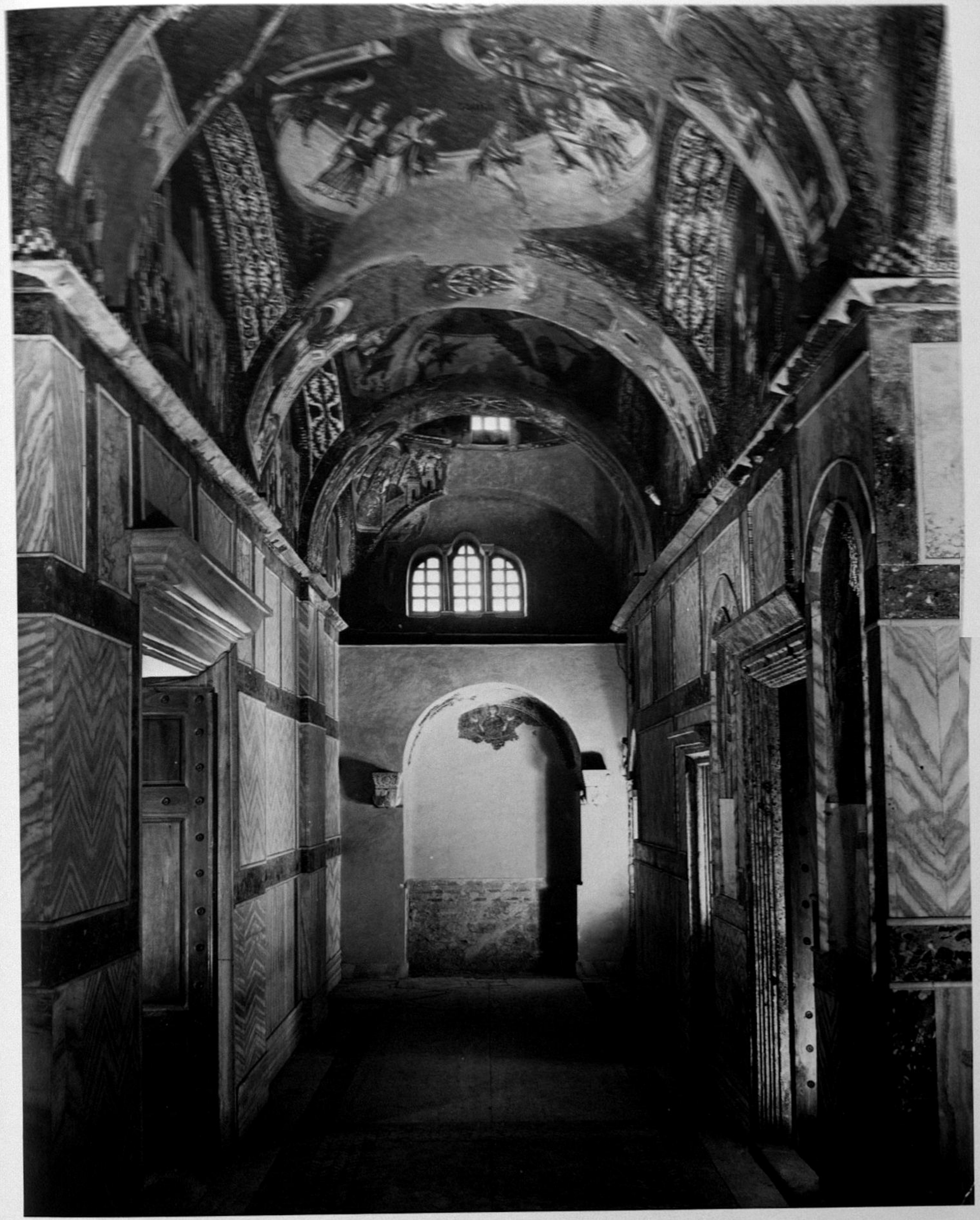
101. Storeroom. Detail of Phase III cornice



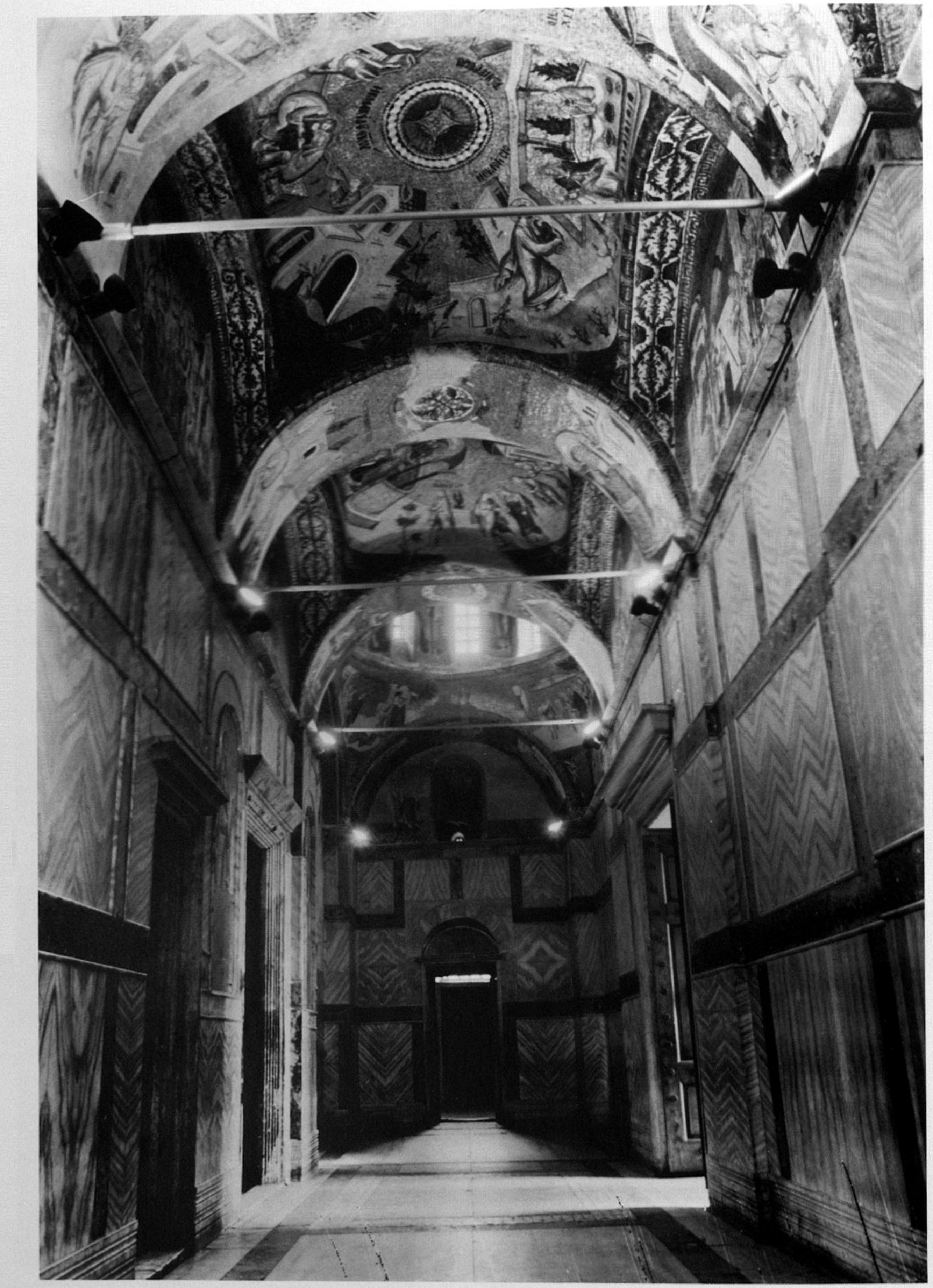
102. Gallery passage. Plan and section (after Rüdell)



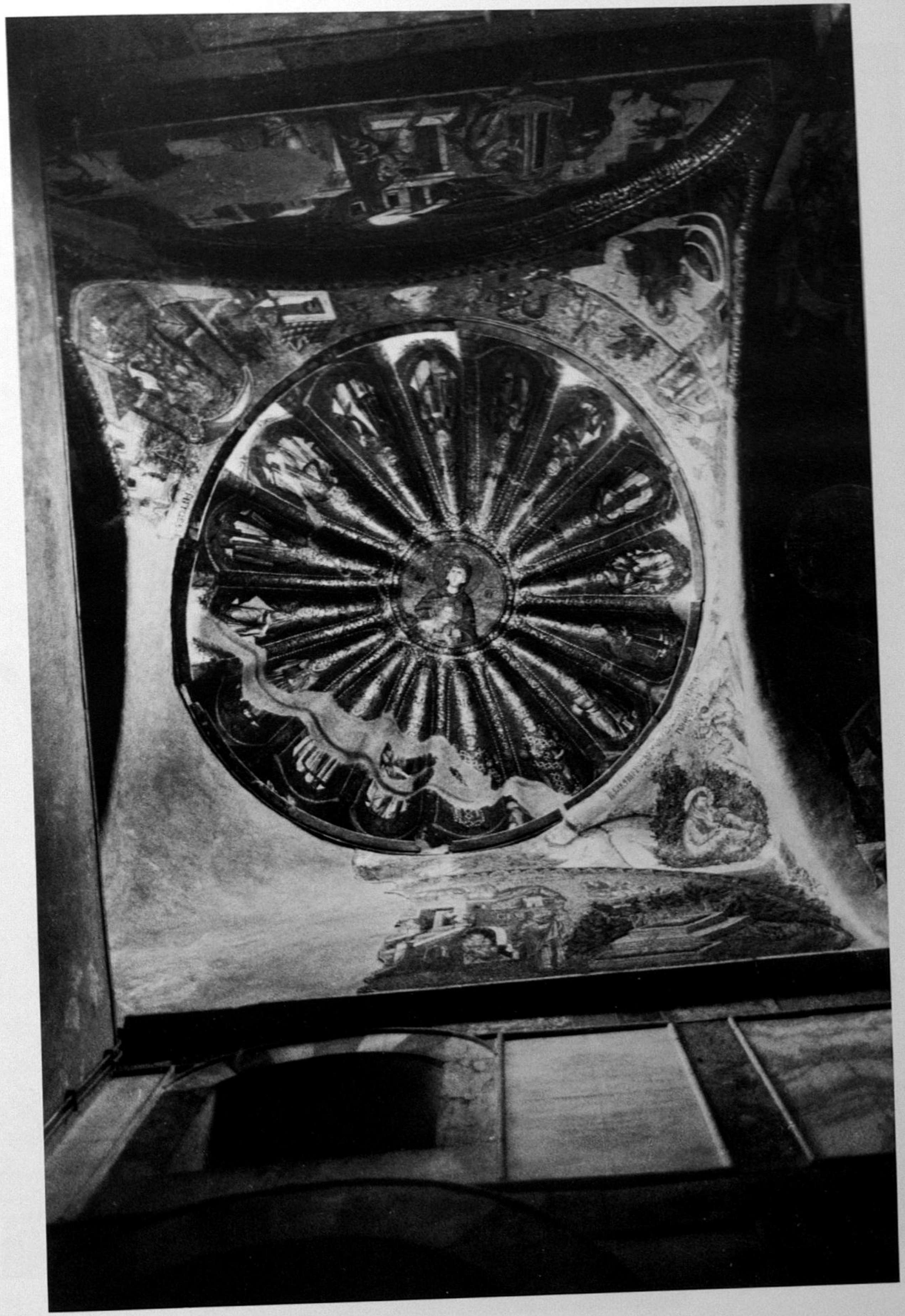
103. Gallery passage. View east



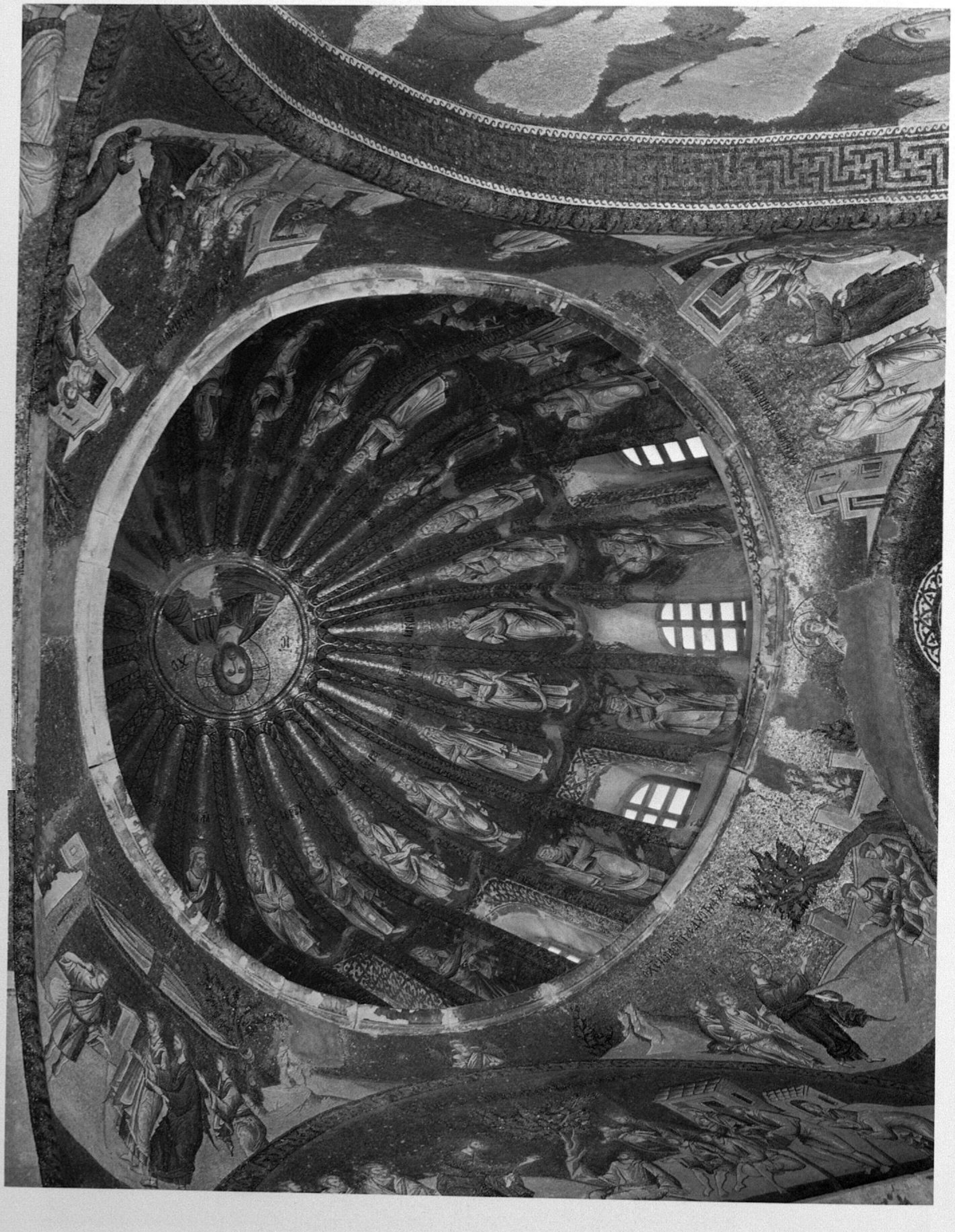
104. Esonarthex. Looking north



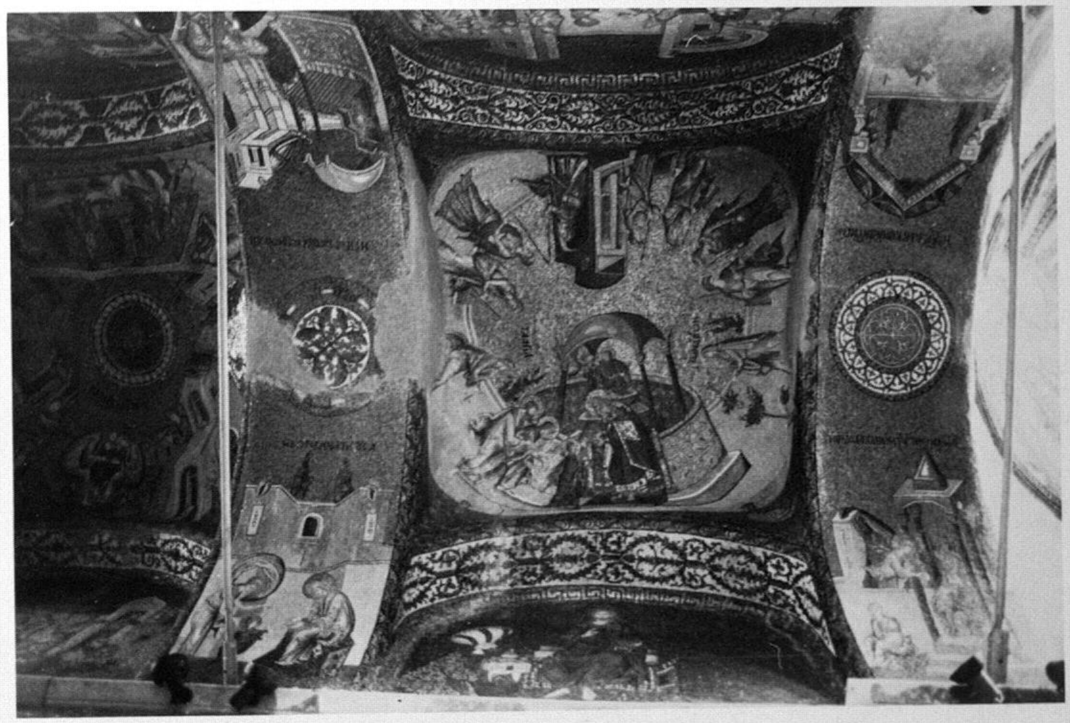
105. Esonarthex. Looking south



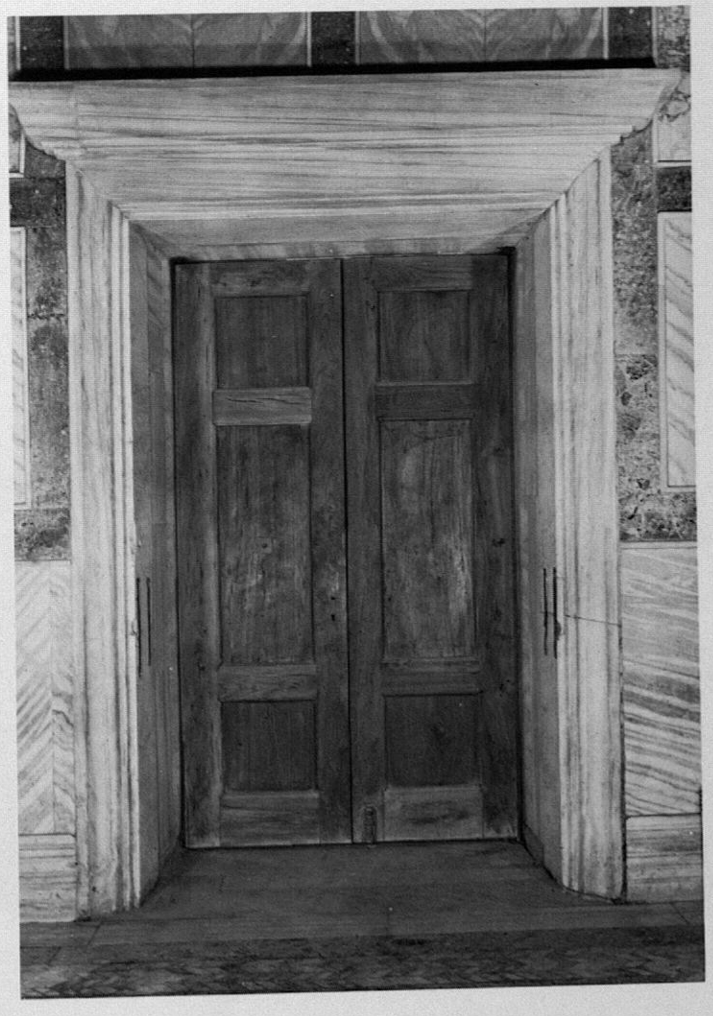
106. Esonarthex. North dome



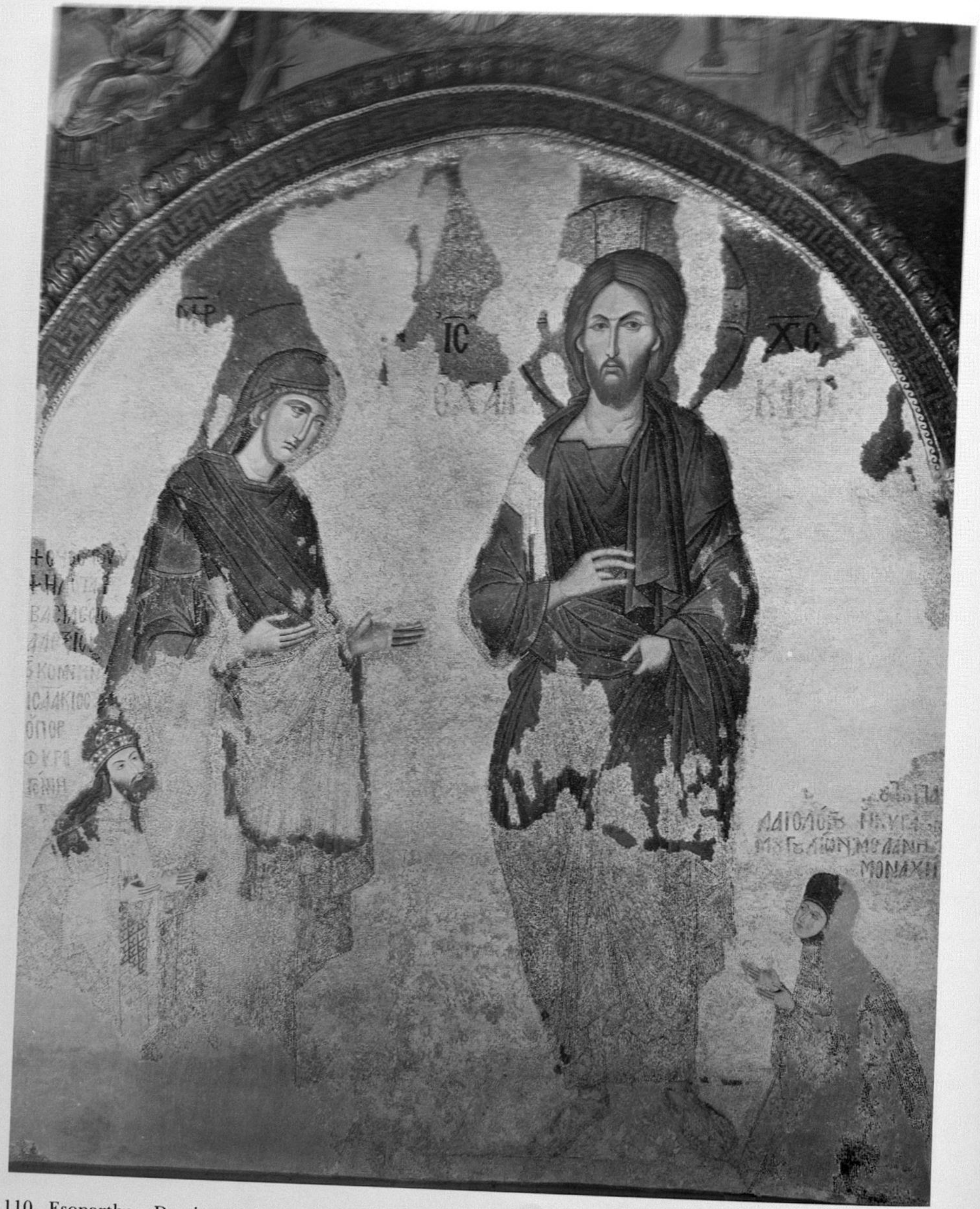
107. Esonarthex. South dome



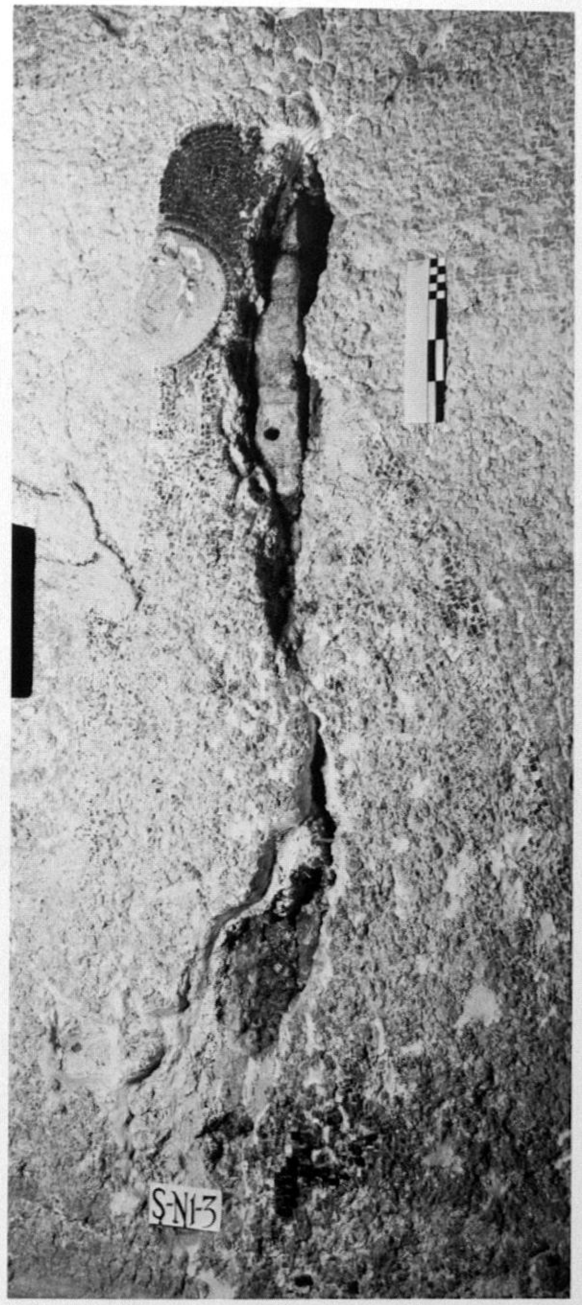
108. Esonarthex. Domical vault of bay three



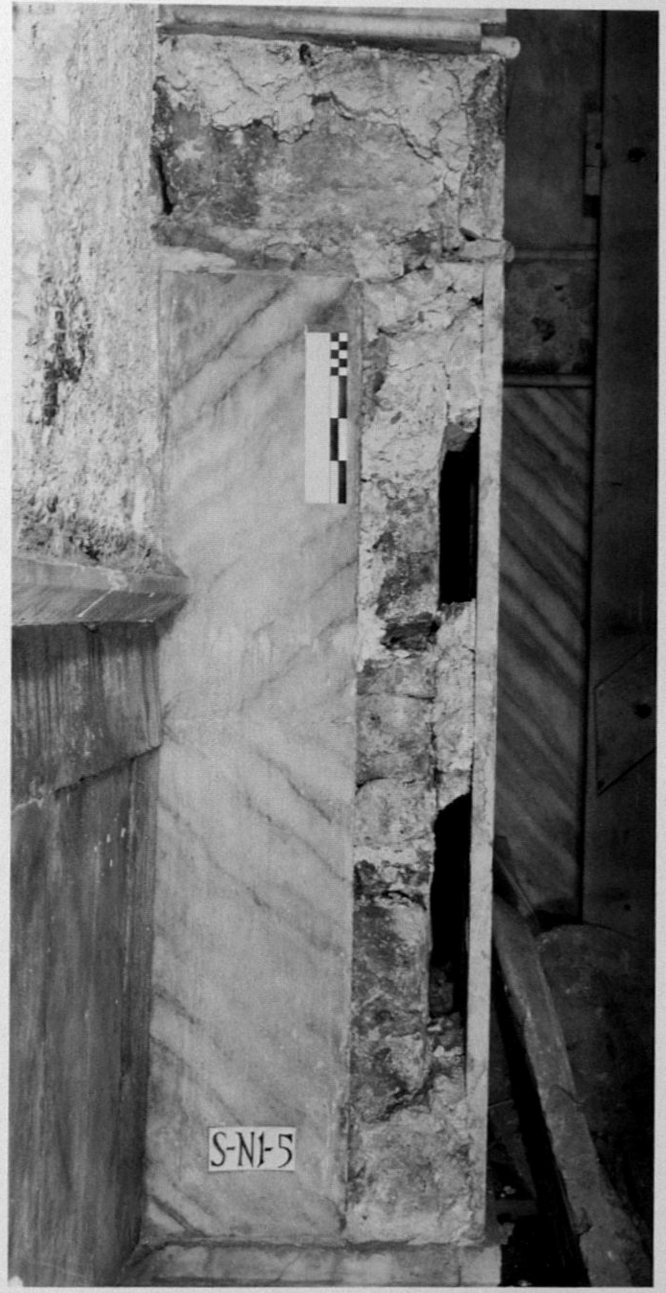
109. Esonarthex. Main portal to naos



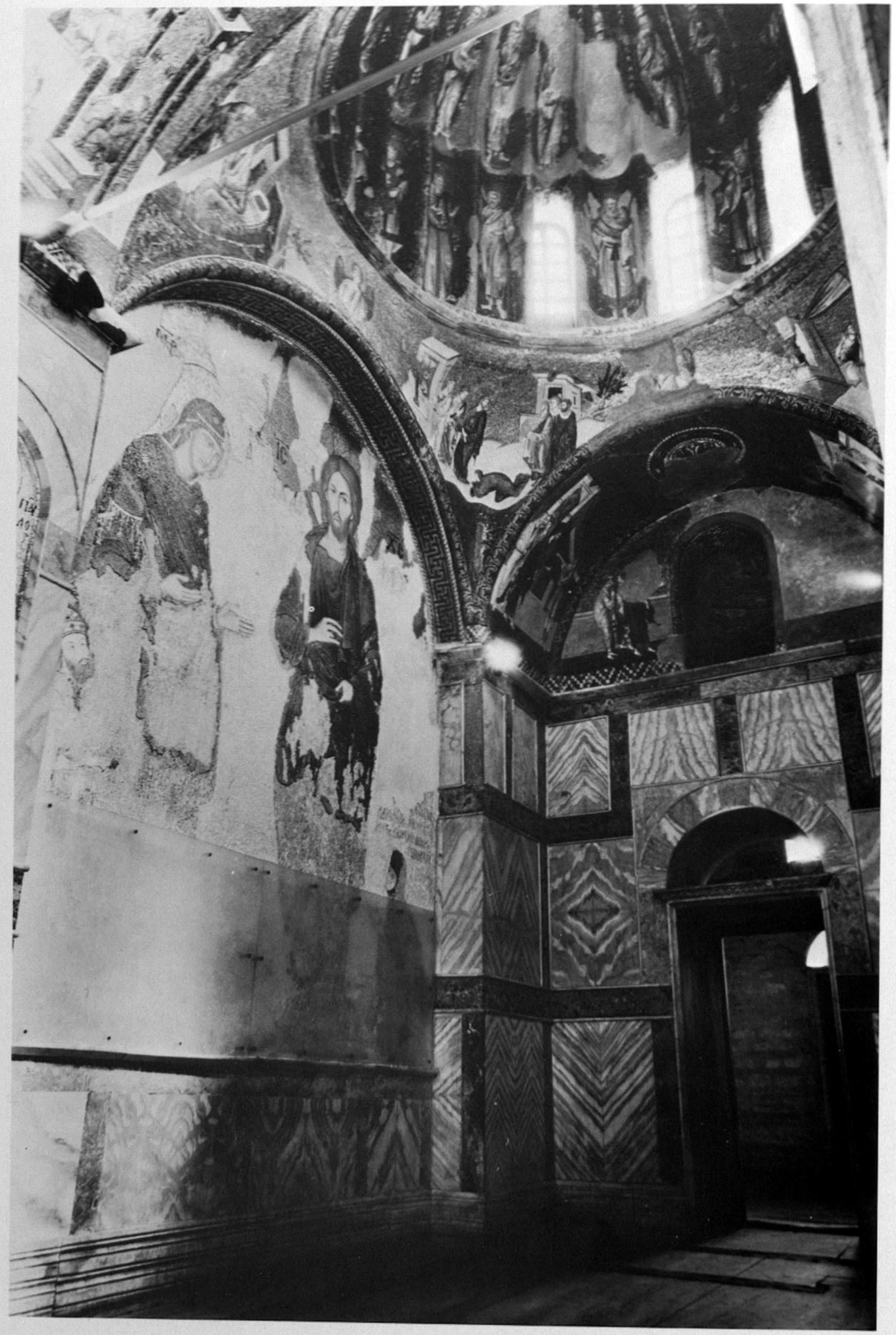
110. Esonarthex. Deesis mosaic



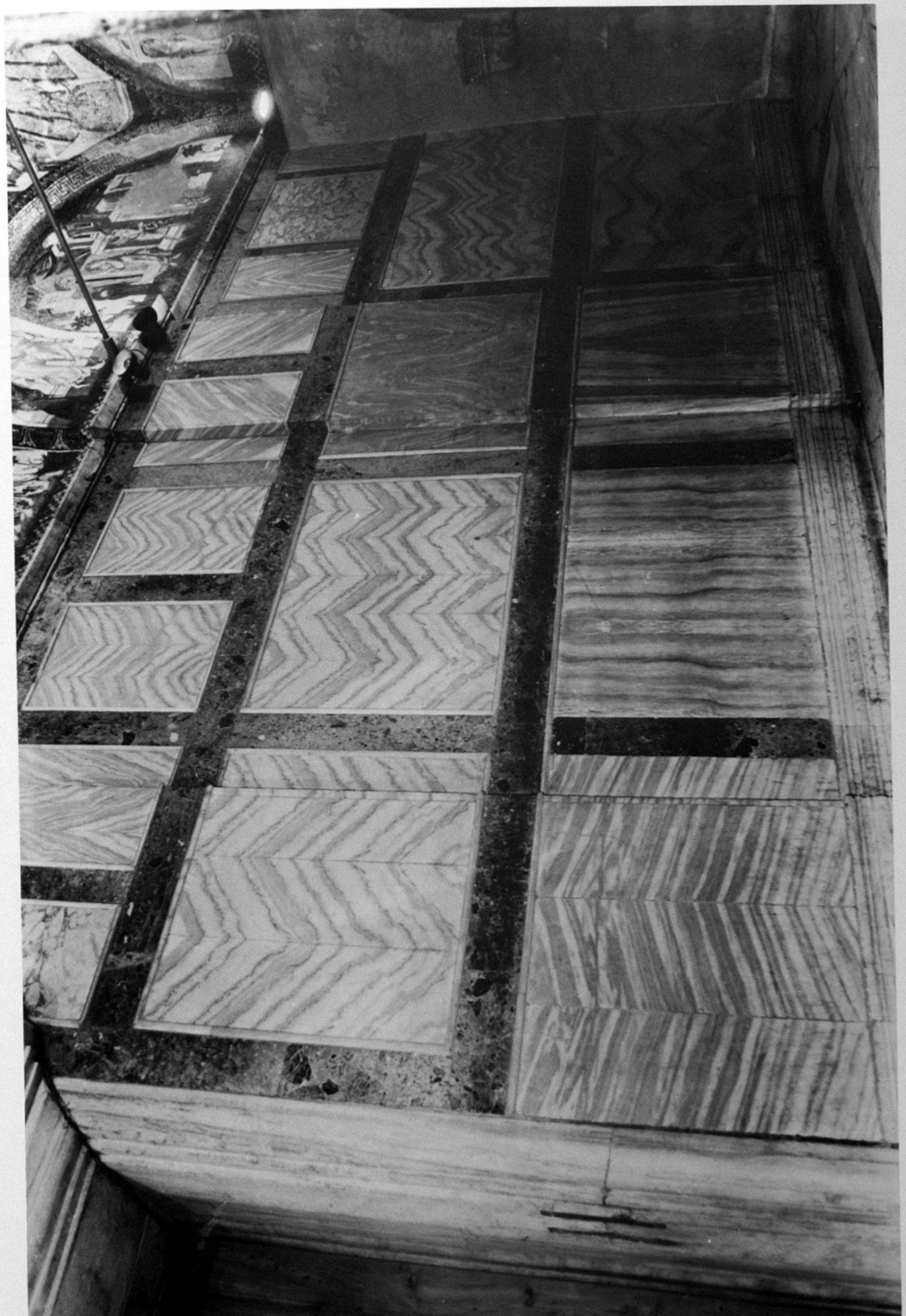
111. Esonarthex. Deesis mosaic; termination of Phase III wall visible during repair



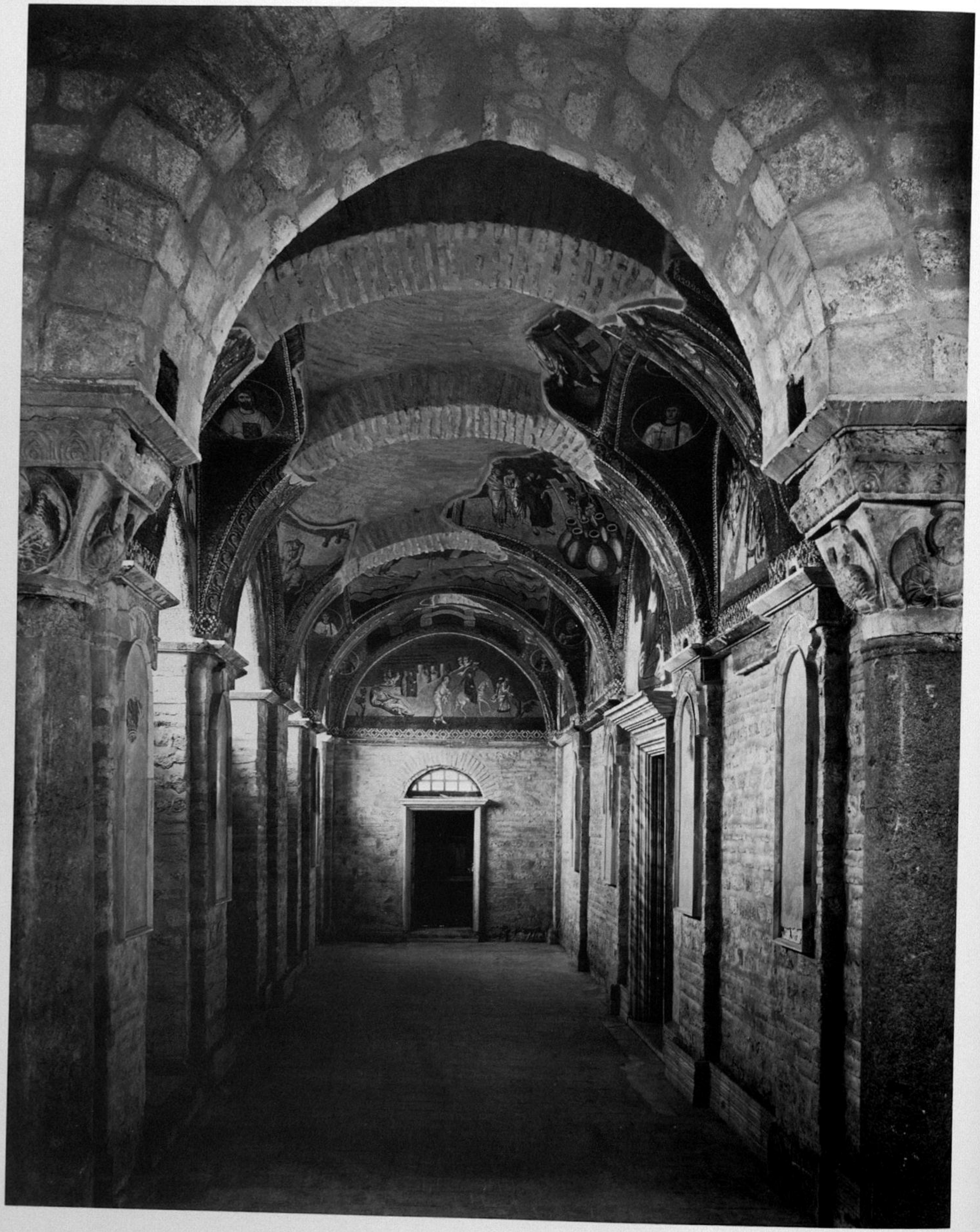
112. Esonarthex. Southeast pier with revetment partially removed, showing Phase V masonry



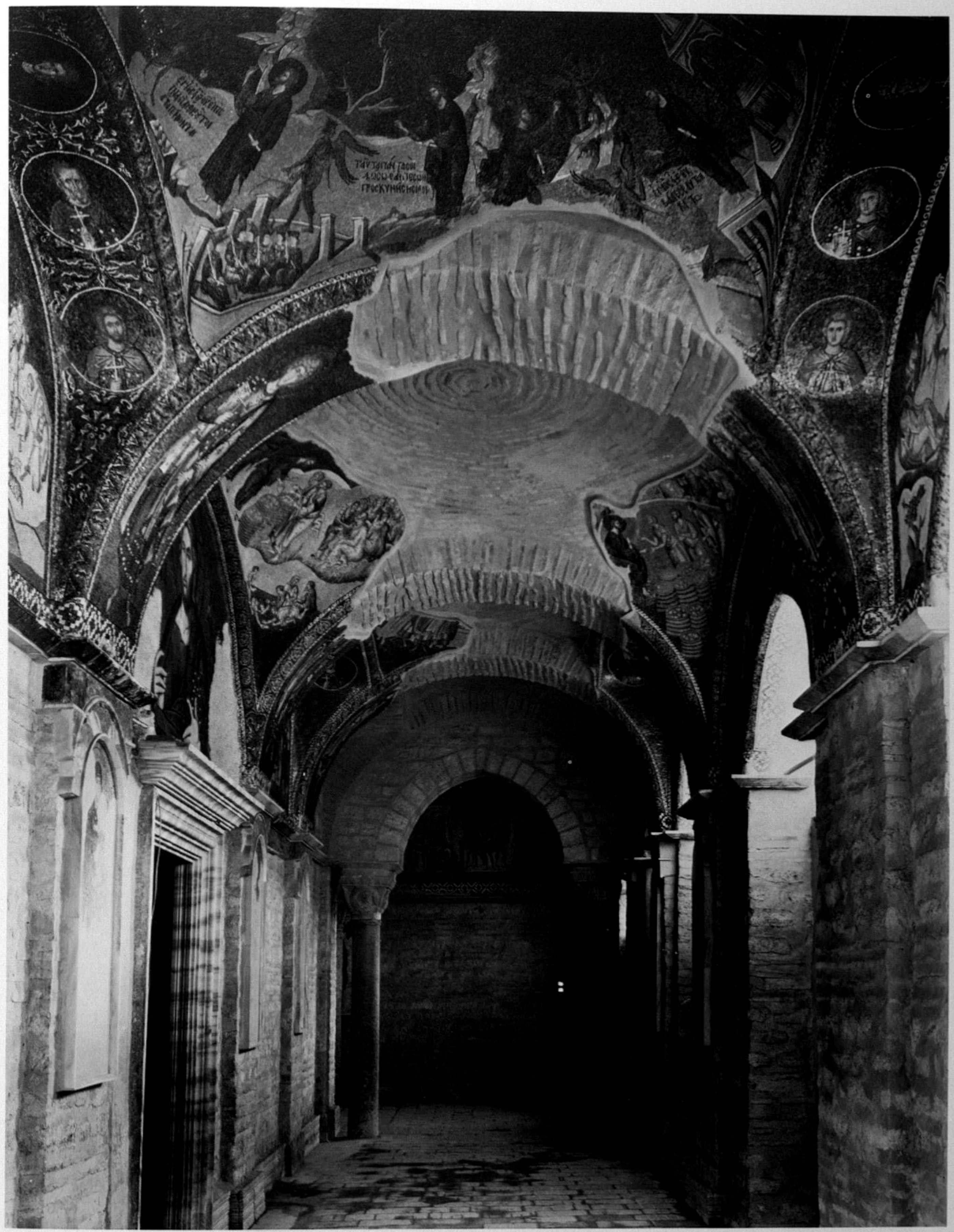
113. Esonarthex. Deesis mosaic as seen from entrance



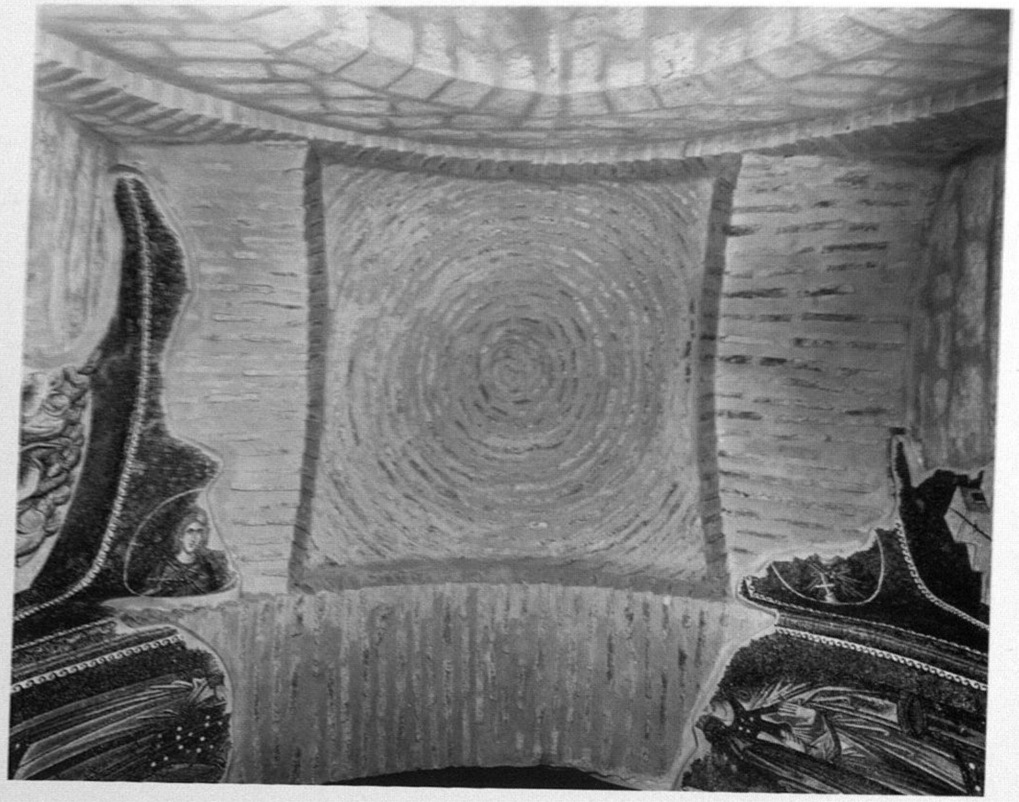
114. Esonarthex. West wall, revetment



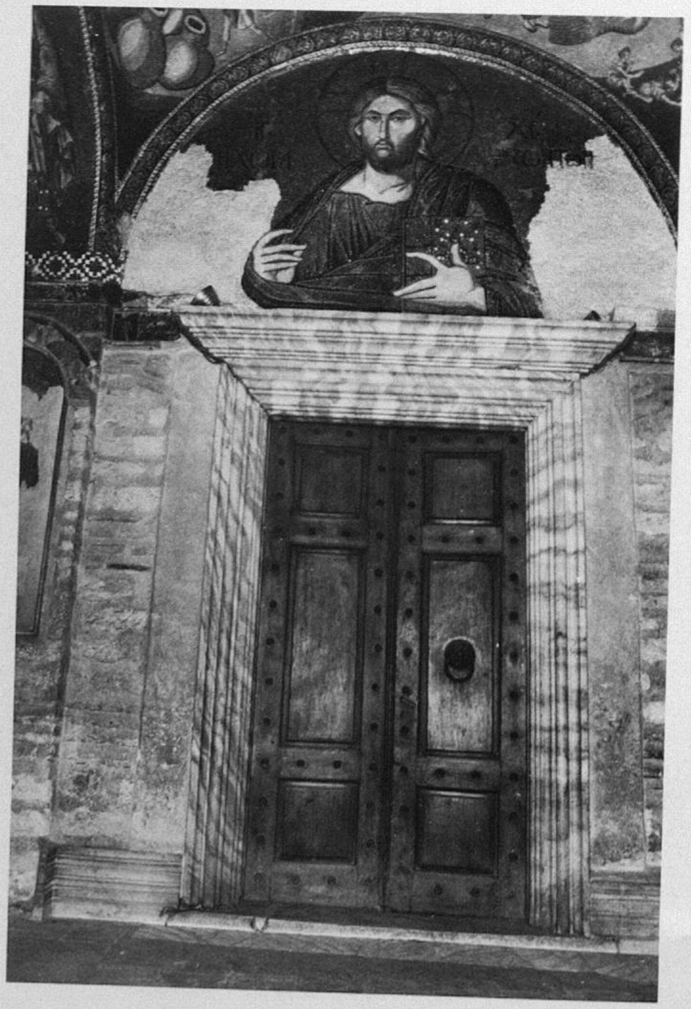
115. Exonarthex. Looking north



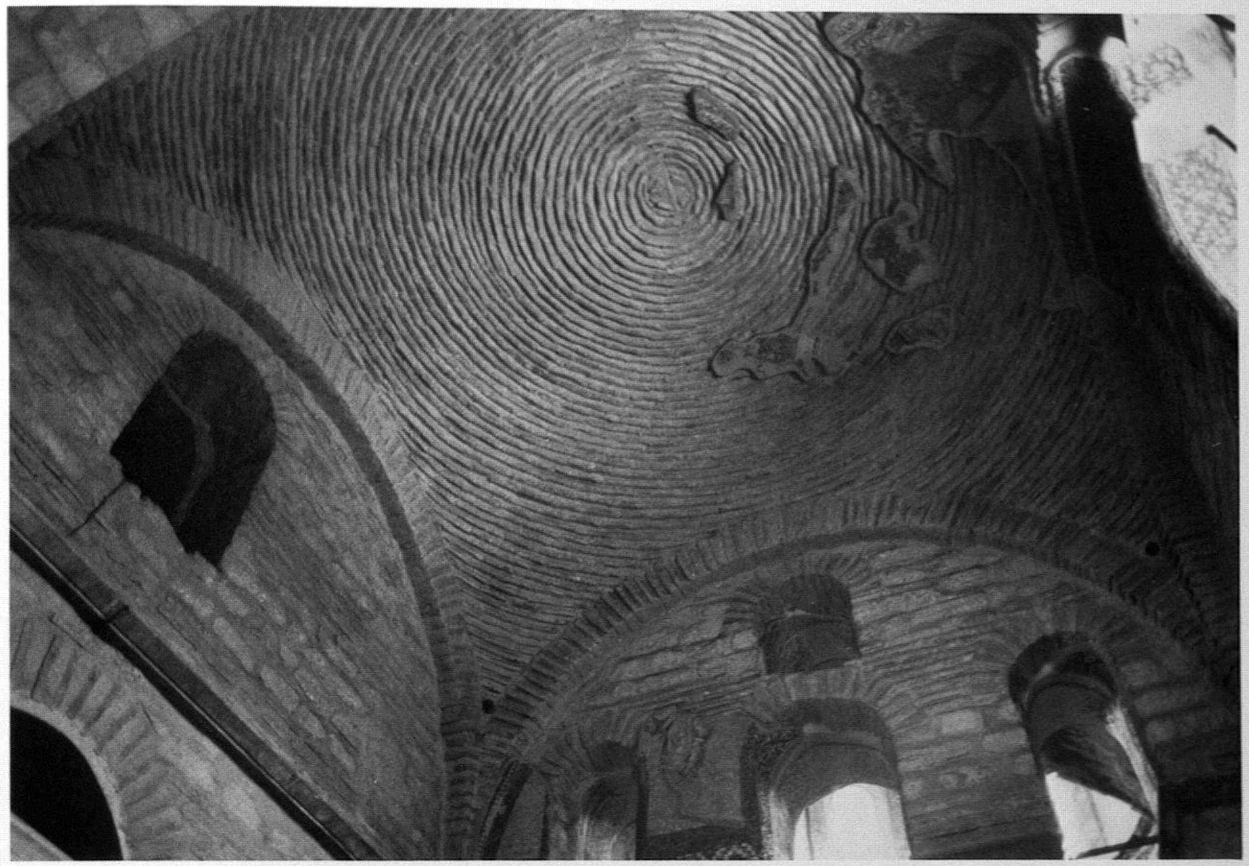
116. Exonarthex. Looking south



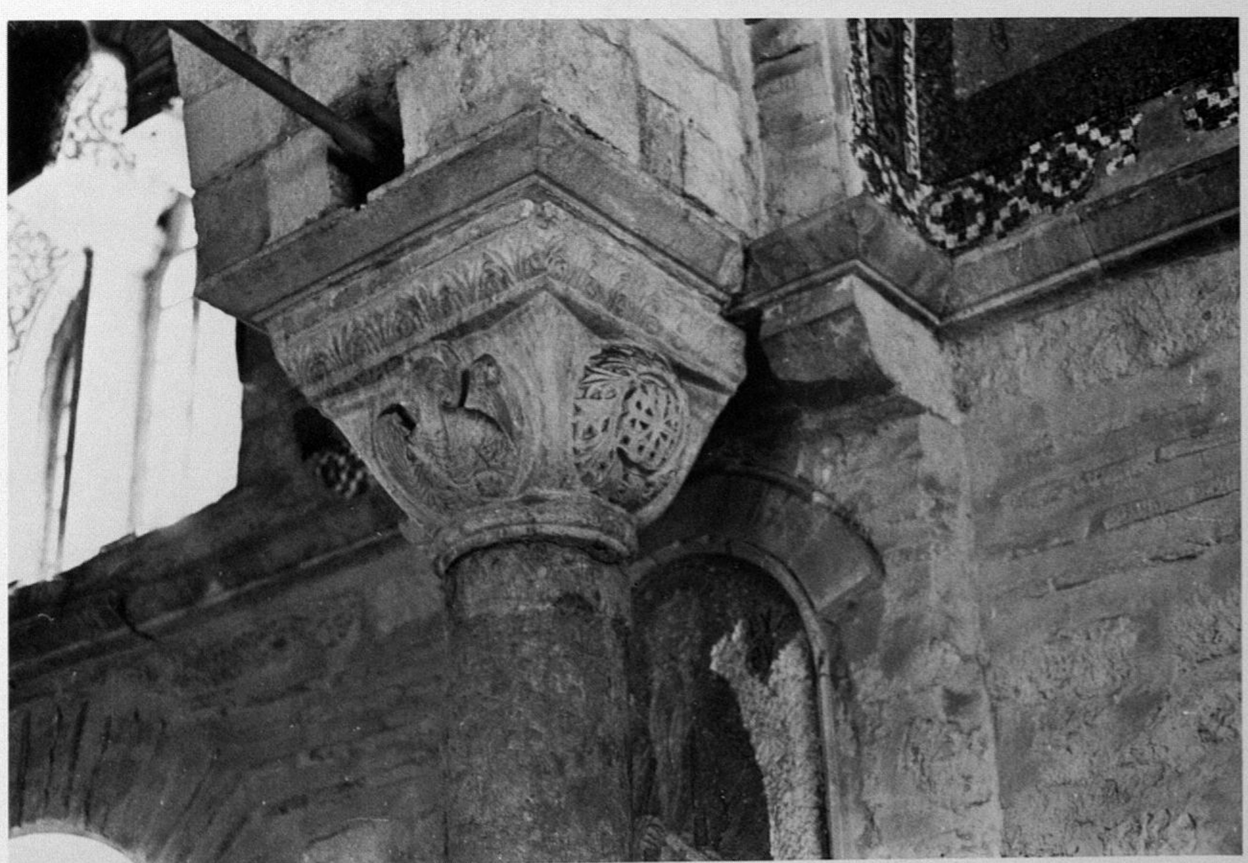
117. Exonarthex. Domical vault of bay five



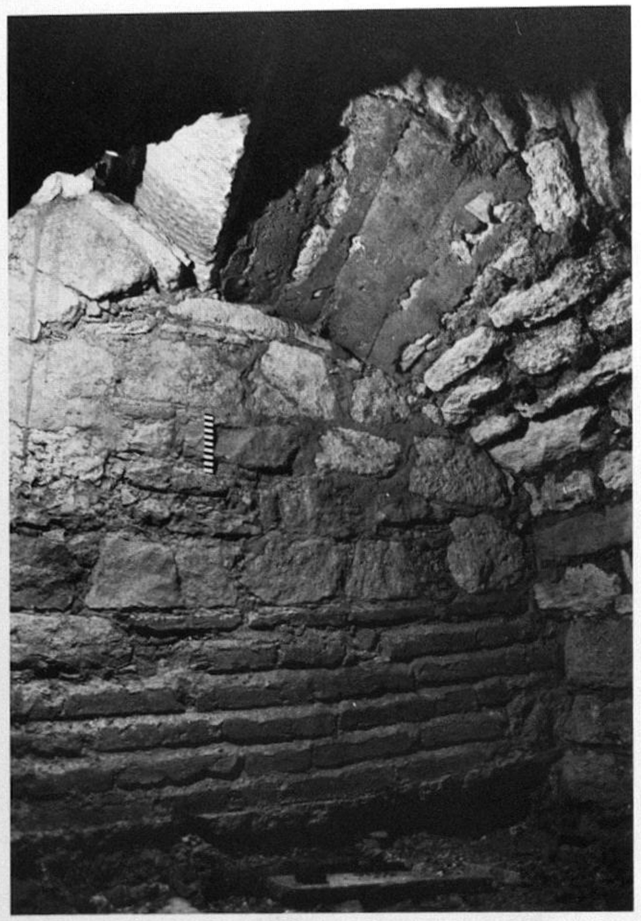
118. Exonarthex. Portal to esonarthex



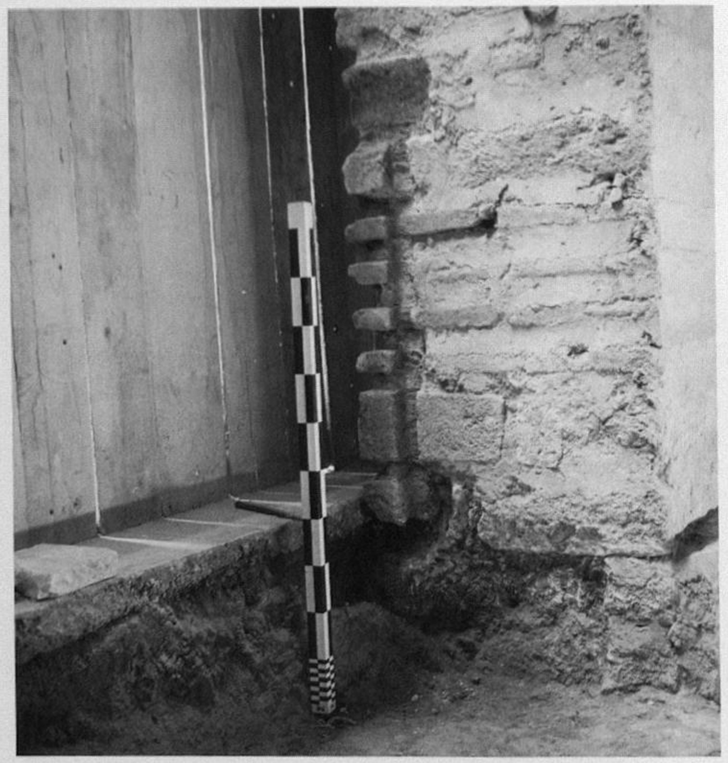
119. Exonarthex. Domical vault of bay seven



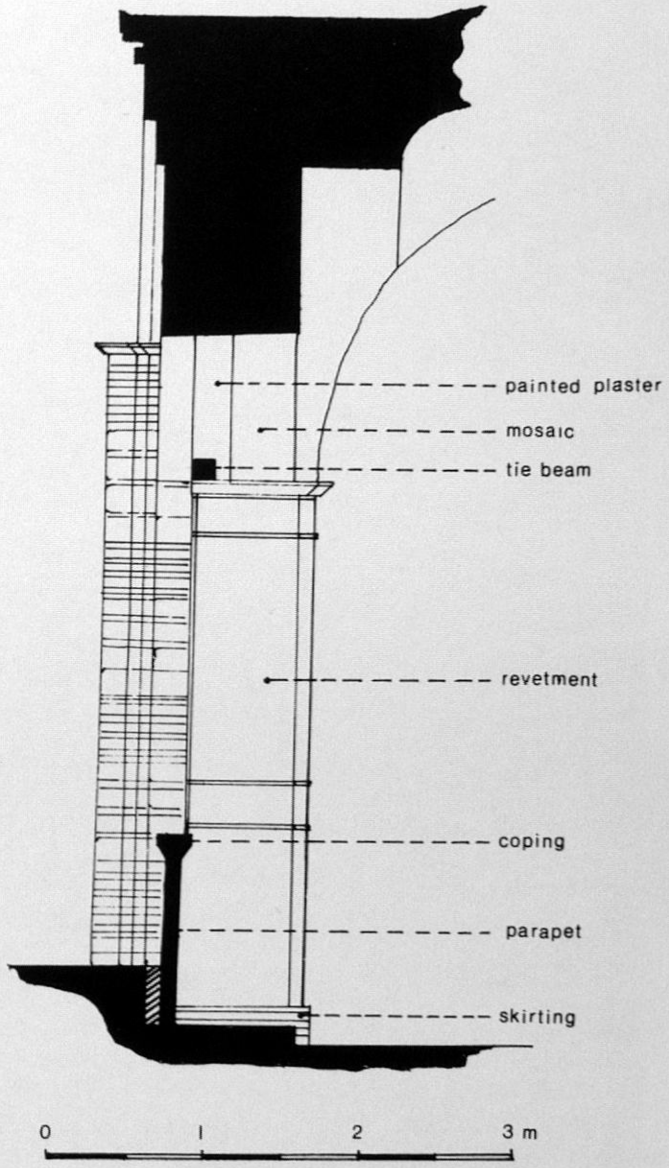
120. Exonarthex. Detail; corbel, inserted column, and arch between bays six and seven



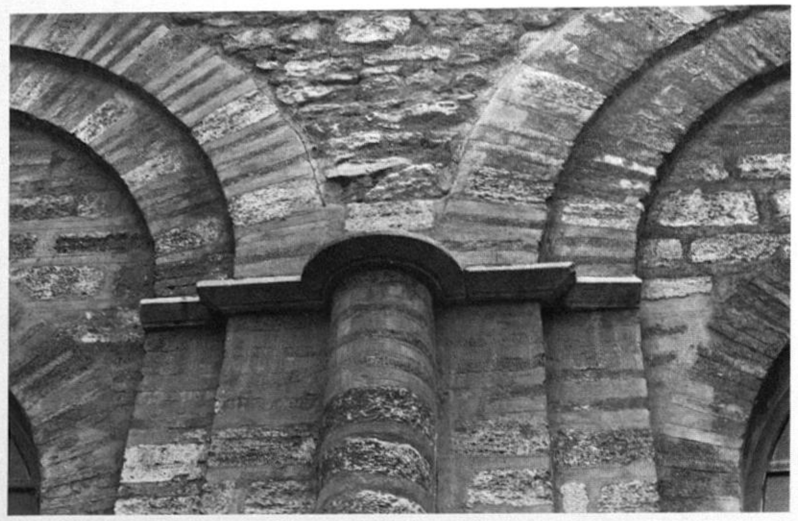
121. Exonarthex. Tomb under bay five, looking west

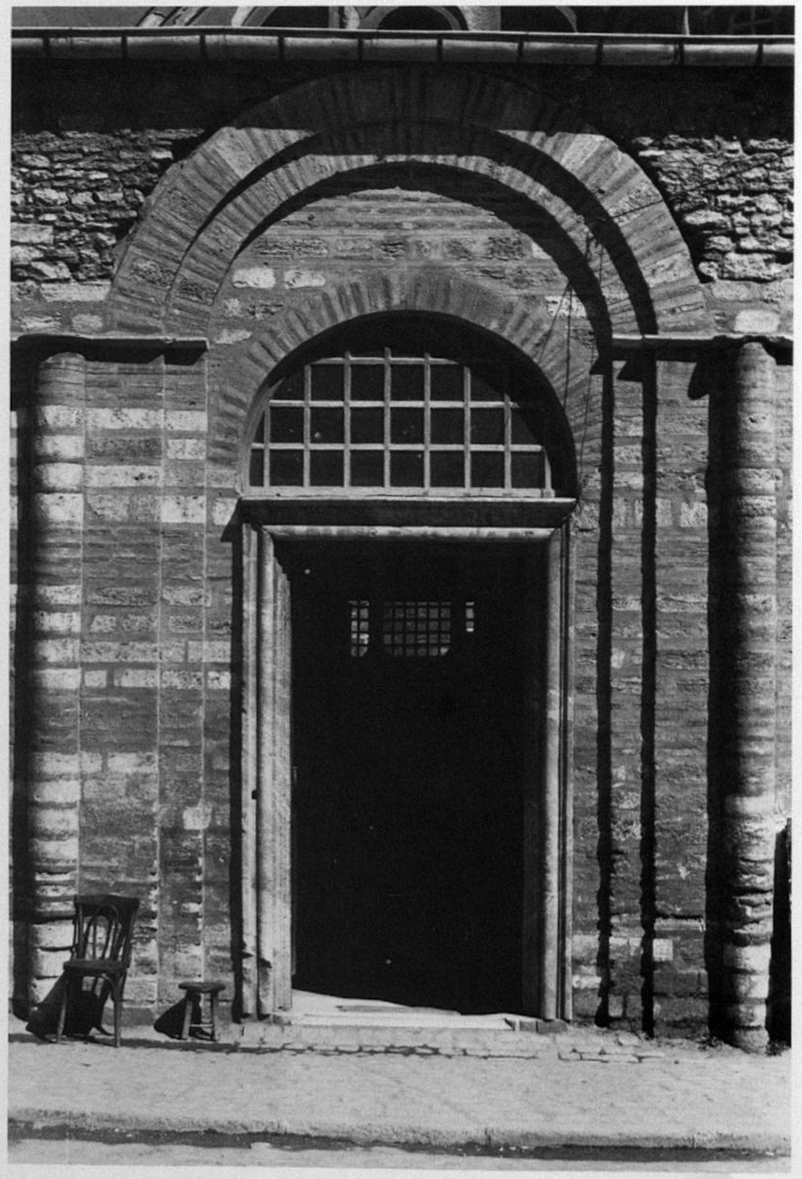


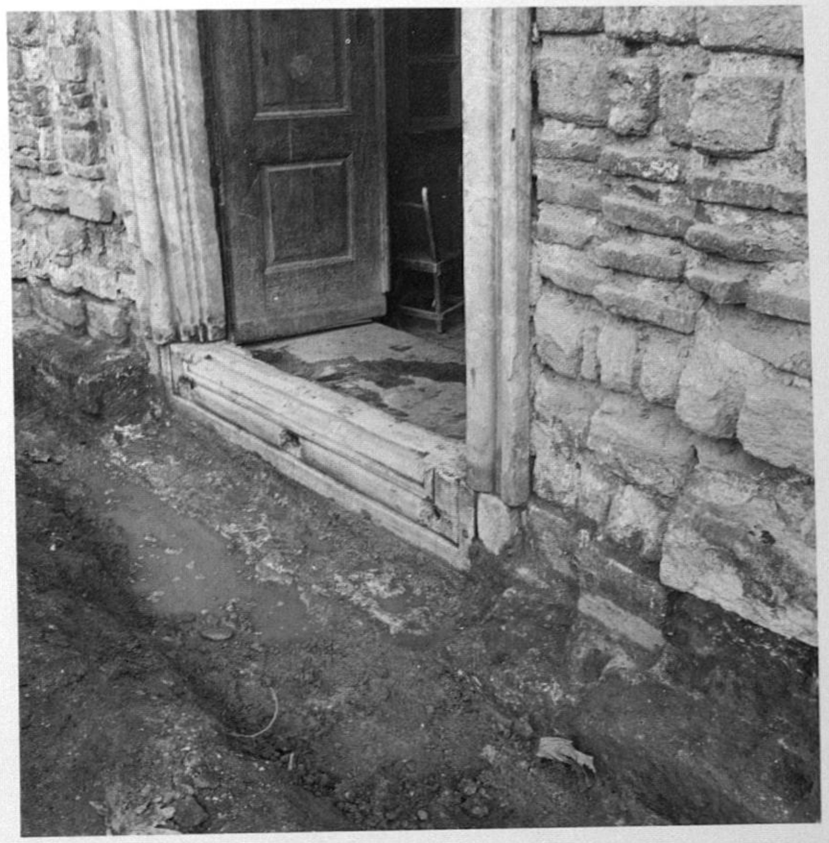
122. Exonarthex. Reveal of arcade, bay six

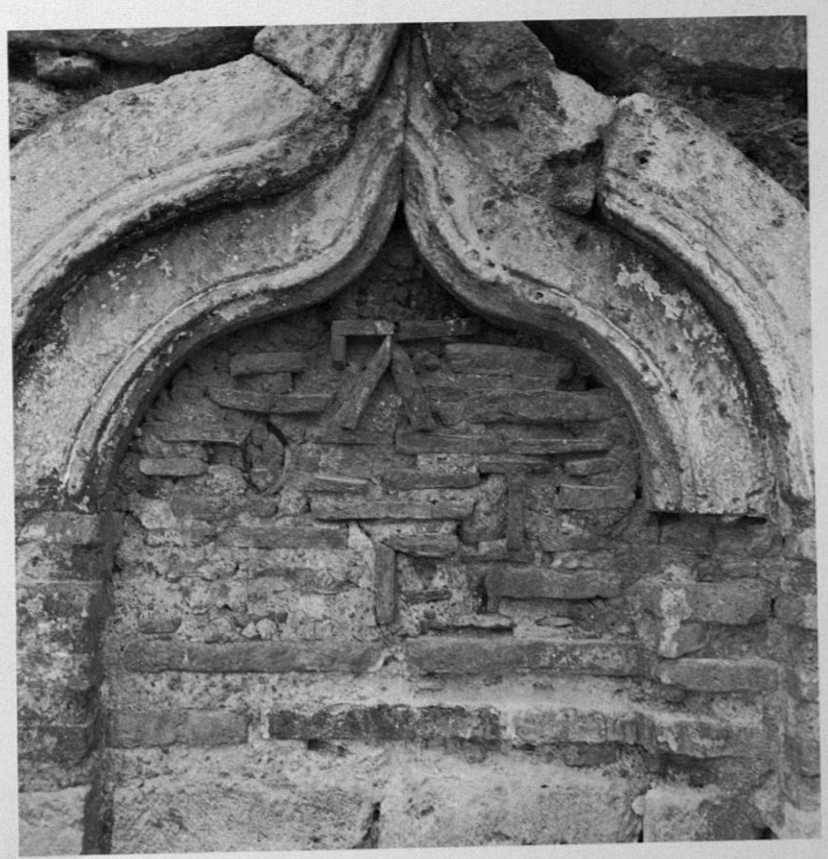


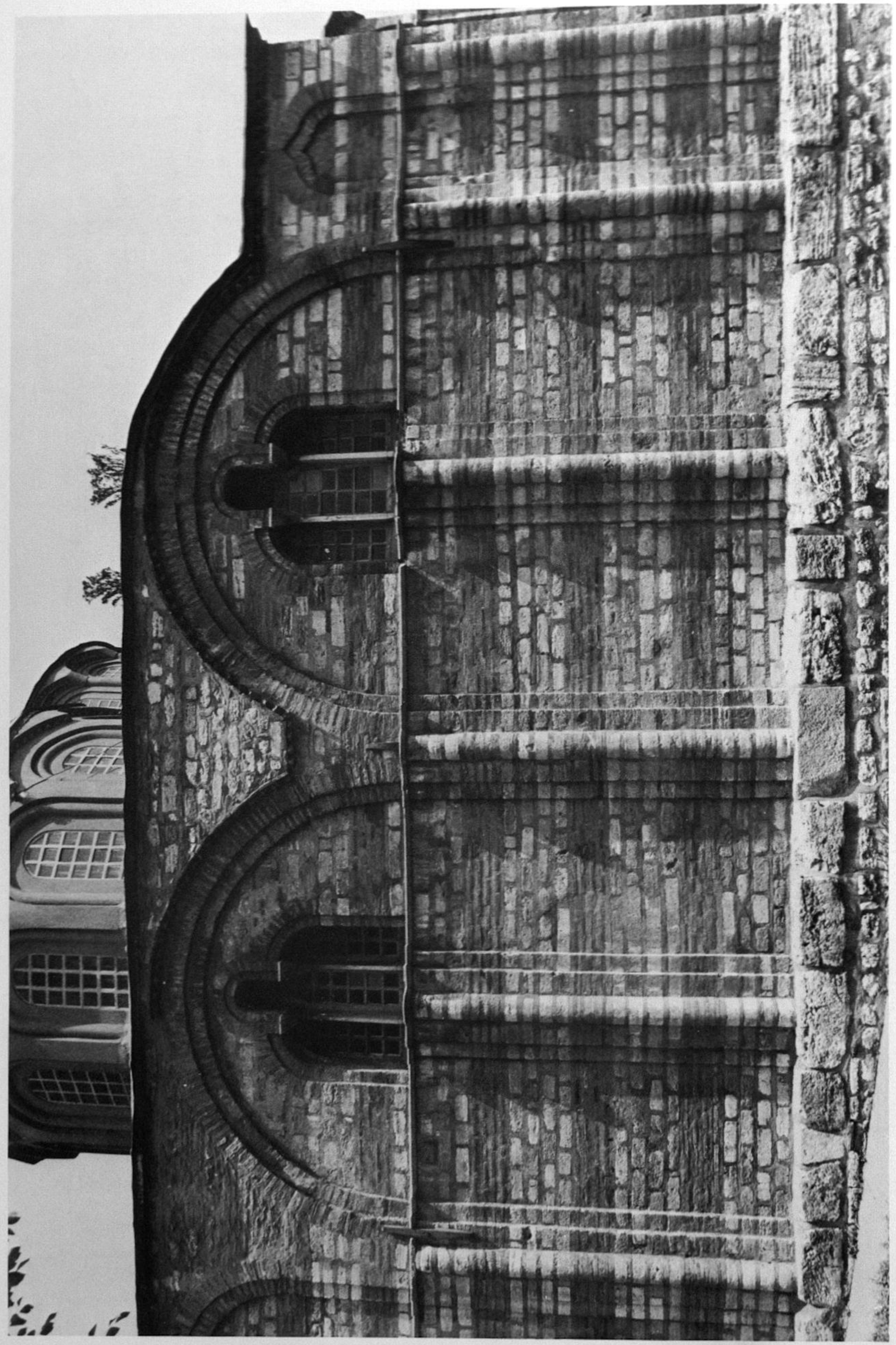
123. Exonarthex. Reconstructed longitudinal section of arcade


124. West facade. Detail; colonnette and string course

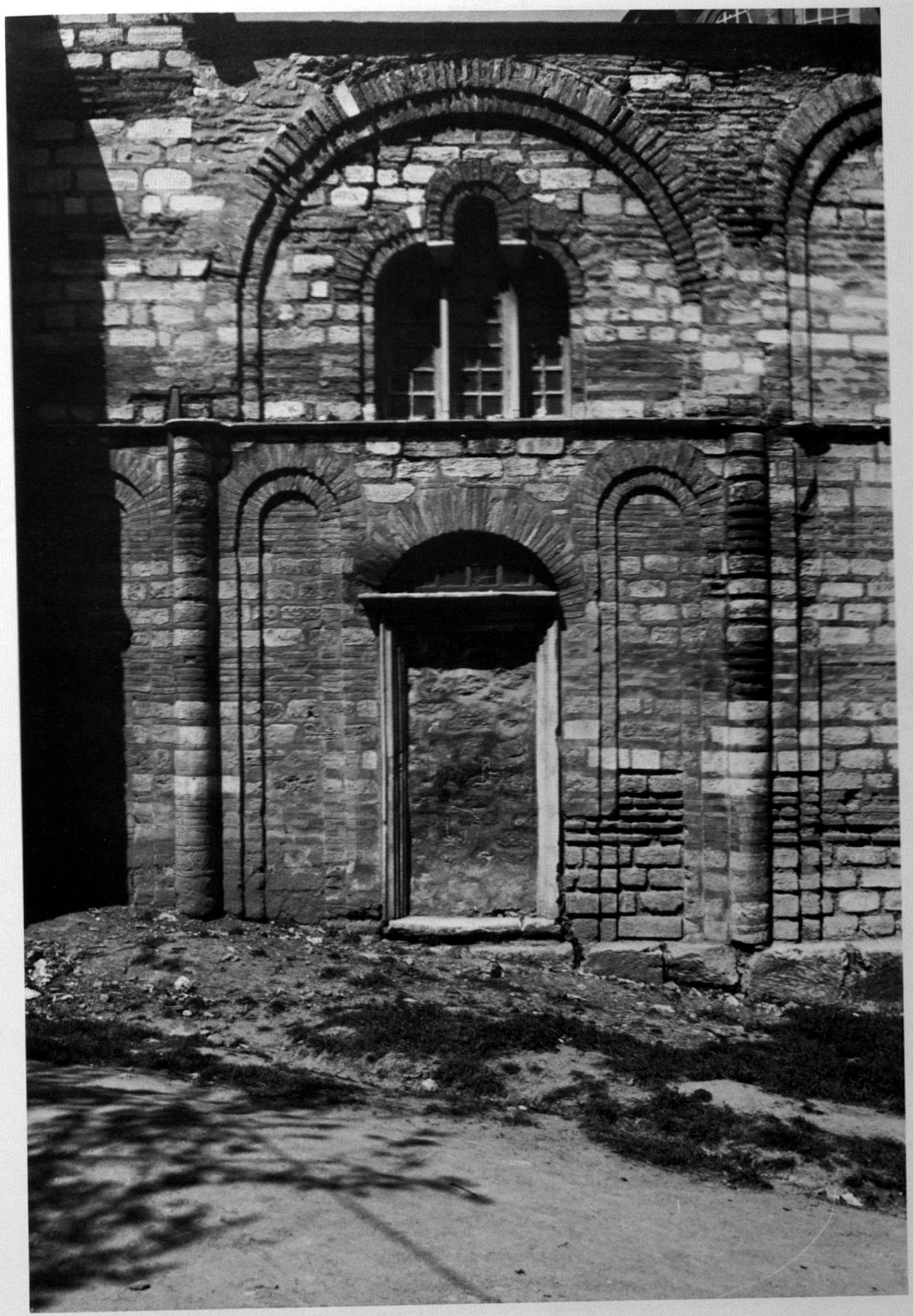

125. West facade. Portal


126. West facade. Detail; doorsill during excavation

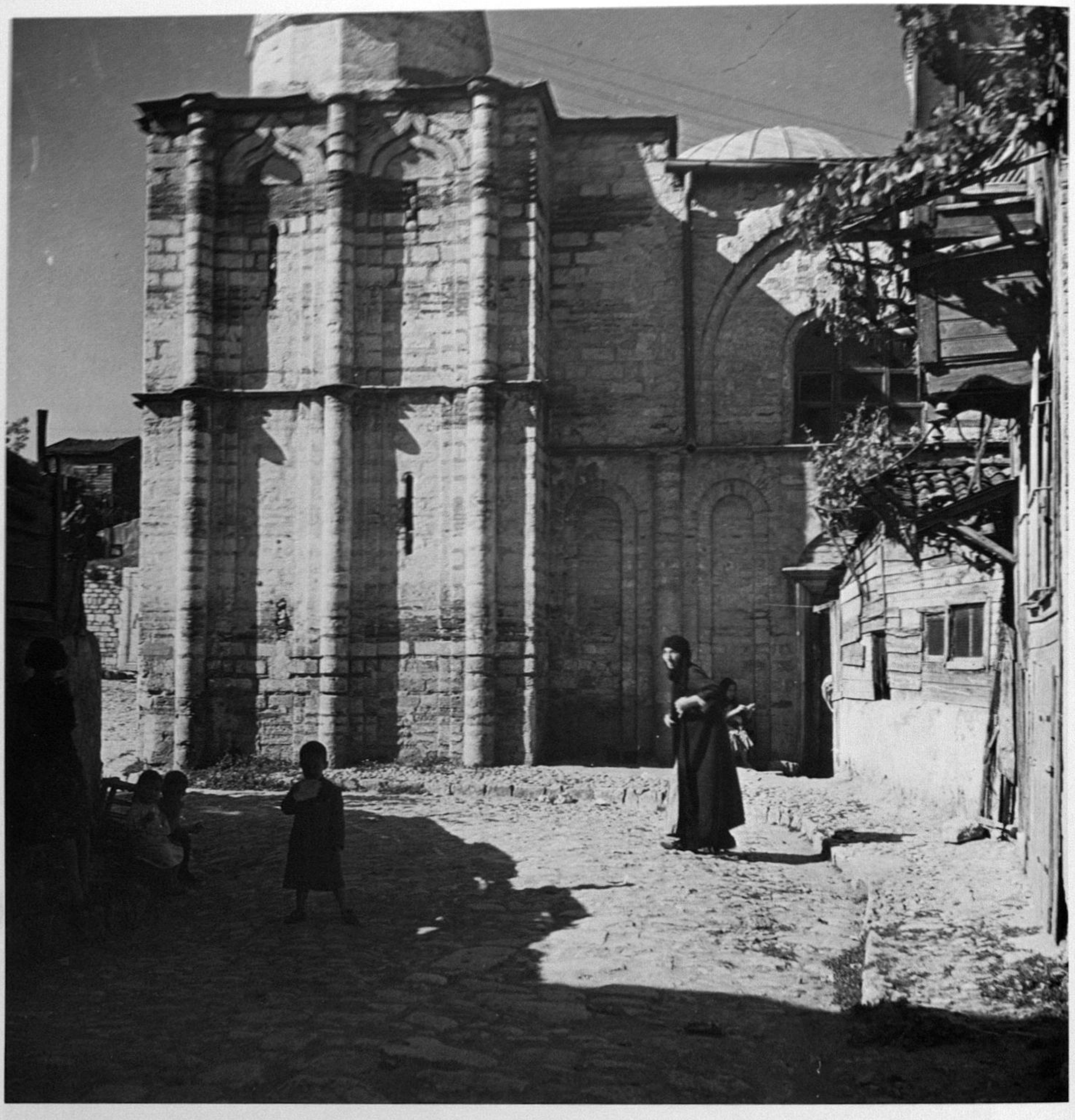

127. West facade. Detail; ogival arch with monogram Logothetes



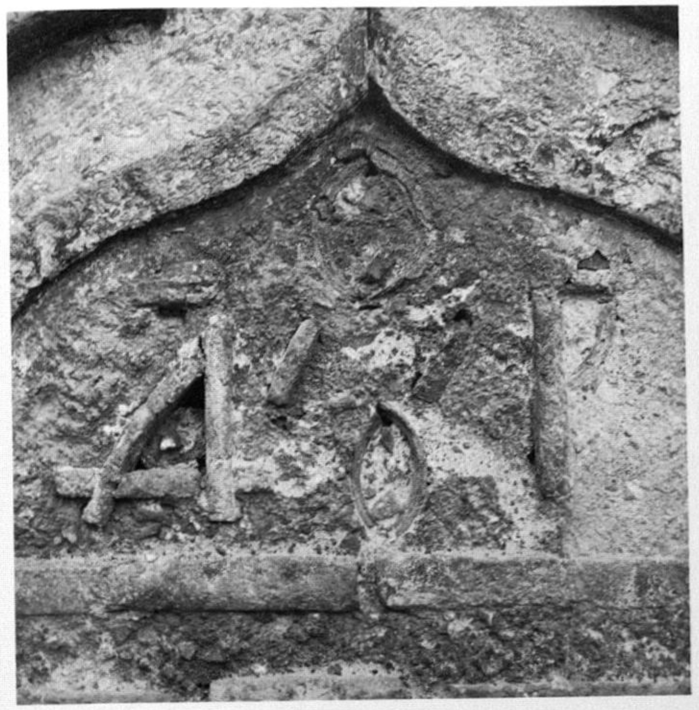
128. South facade. East bays



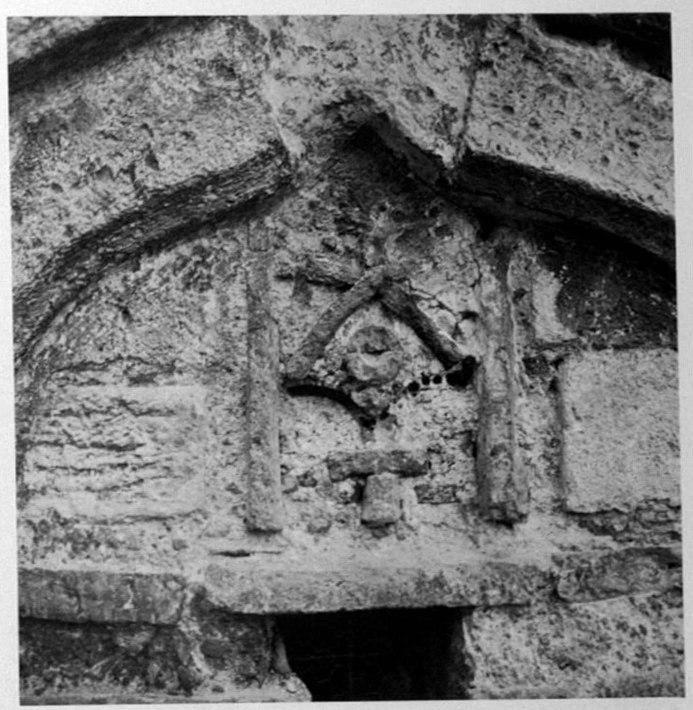
129. South facade. Portal



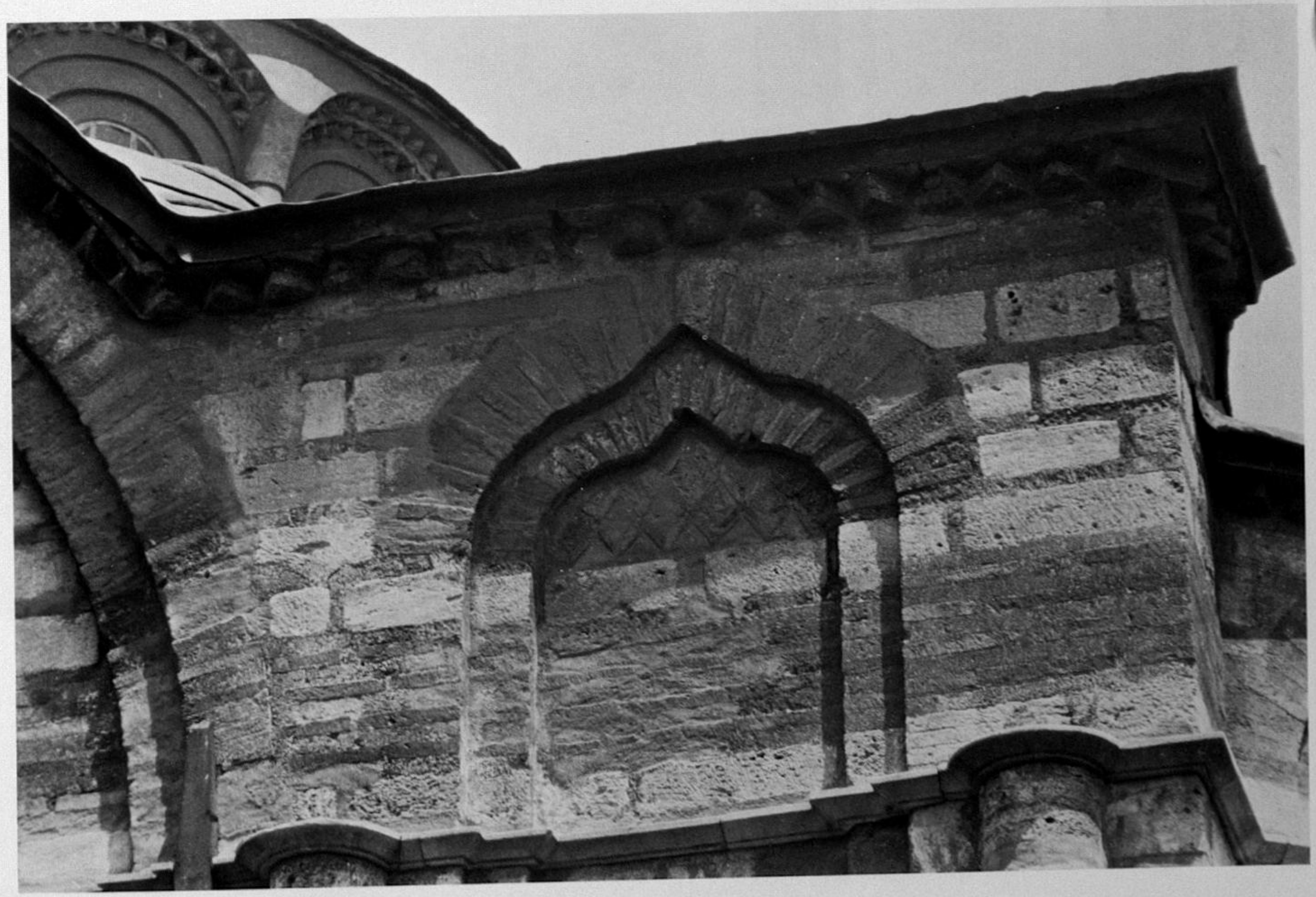
130. South facade. Belfry base, before cleaning



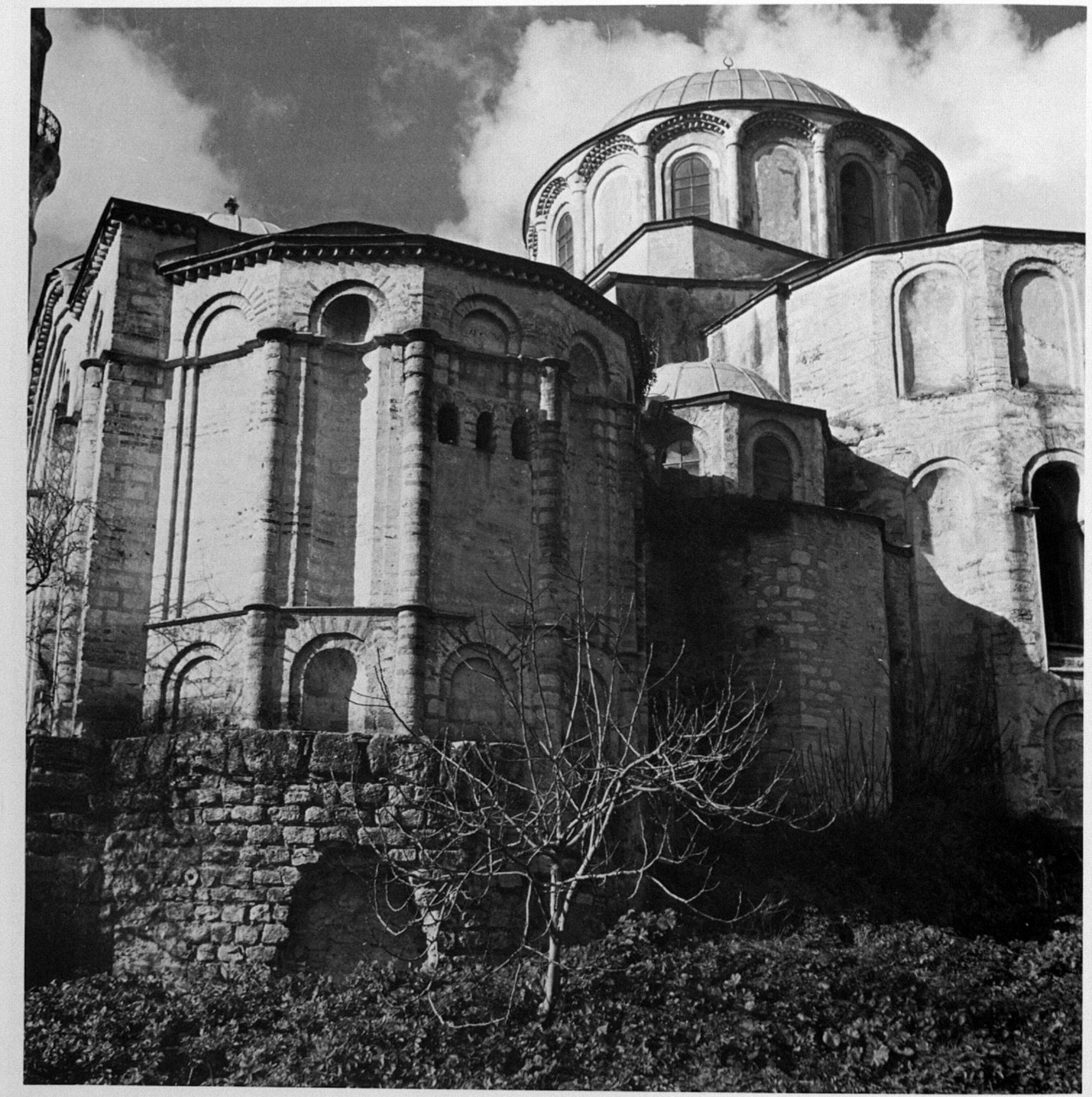
131. South facade. Belfry base, detail of west ogival arch with monogram of Theodoros



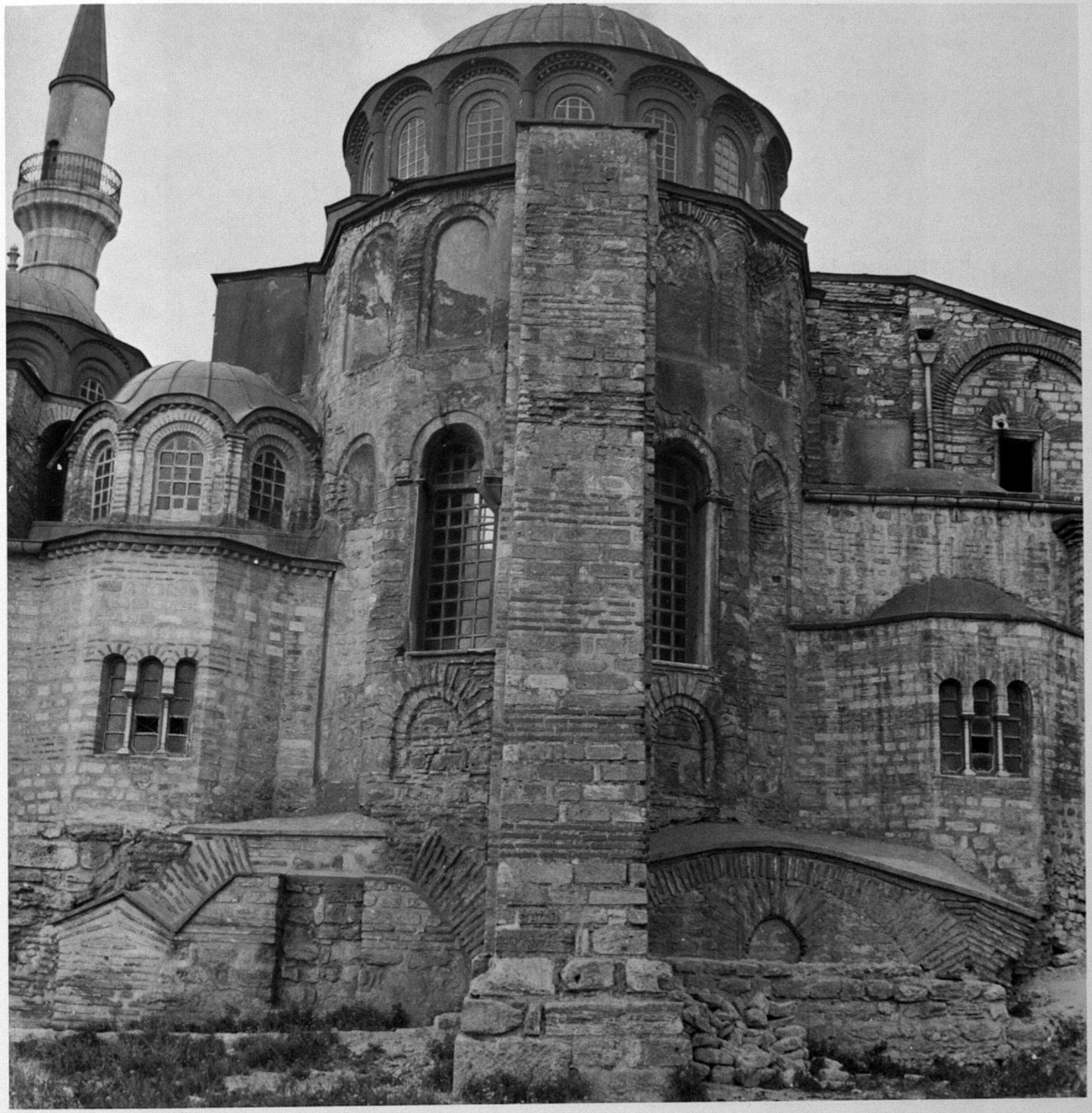
132. South facade. Belfry base; detail of east ogival arch with monogram of Metochites



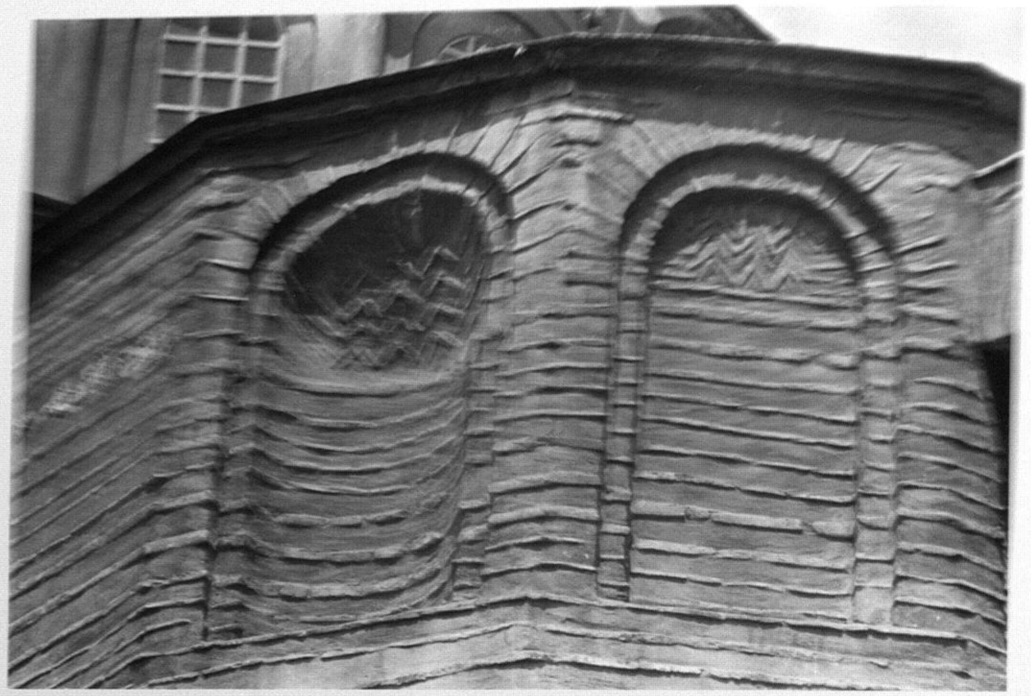
133. South facade. East end; ogival arch



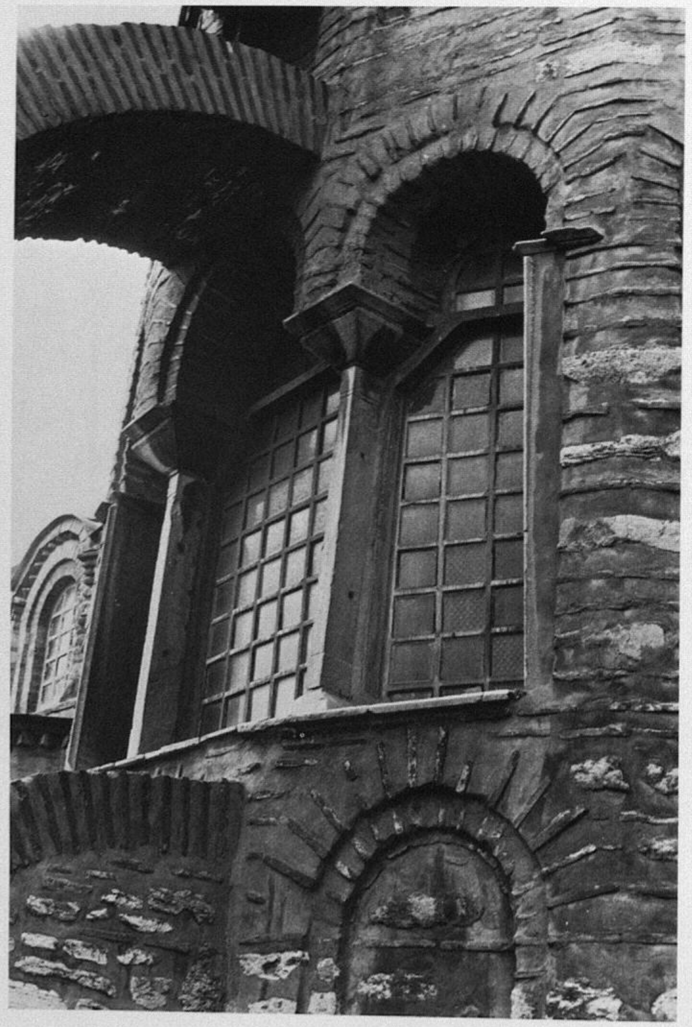
134. East facade. From southeast, before restoration



135. East facade. Central portion showing foundations

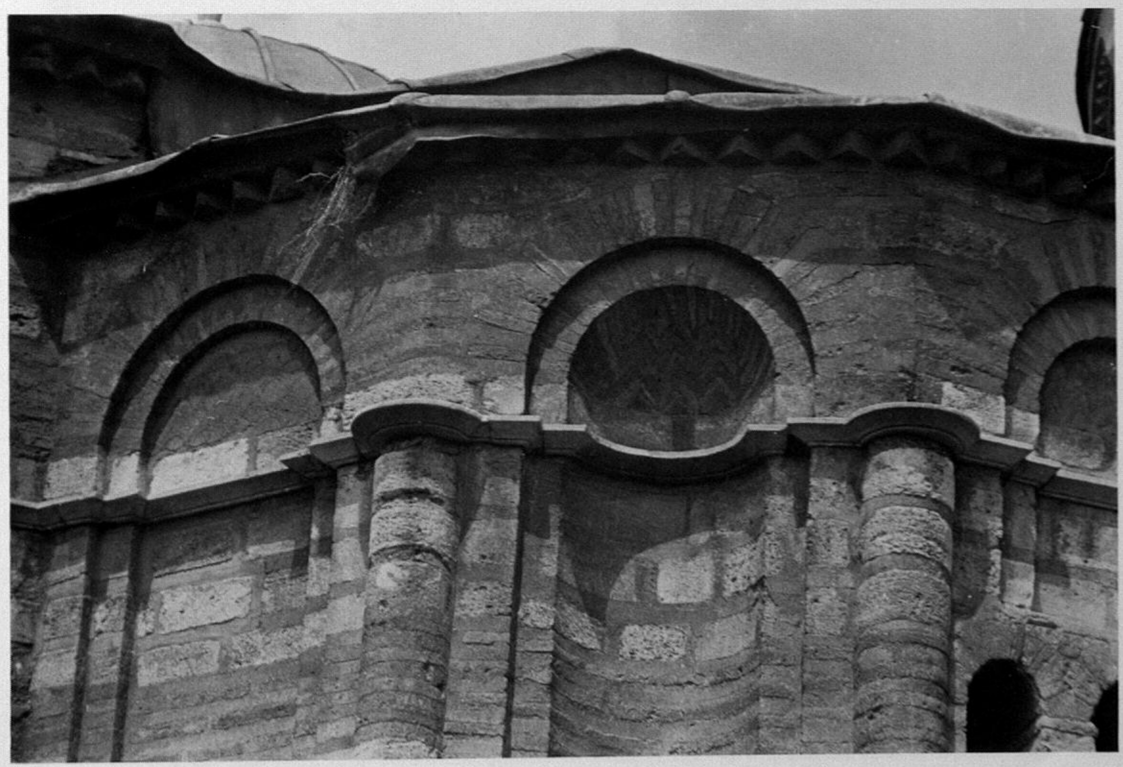


136. East facade. Bema; detail of Phase IV masonry, after repointing

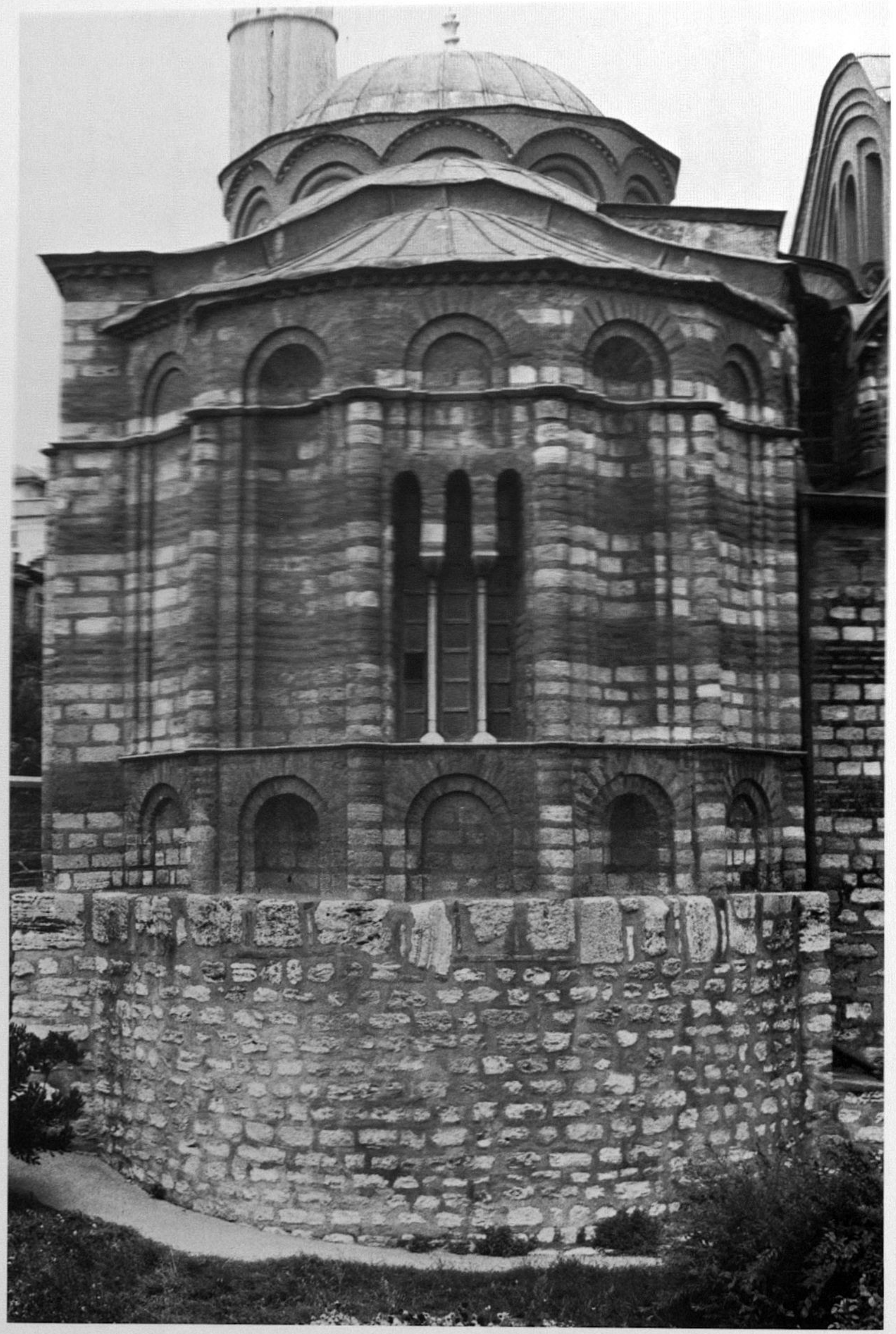


137. East facade. Bema; detail of window

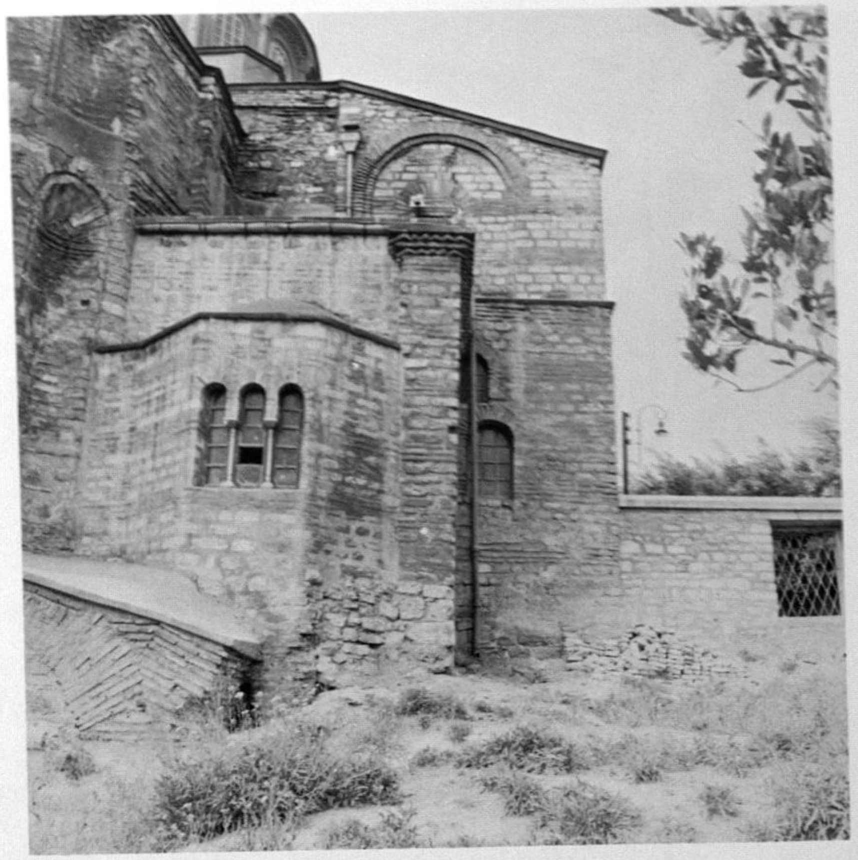
138. East facade. Prothesis and bema during repair



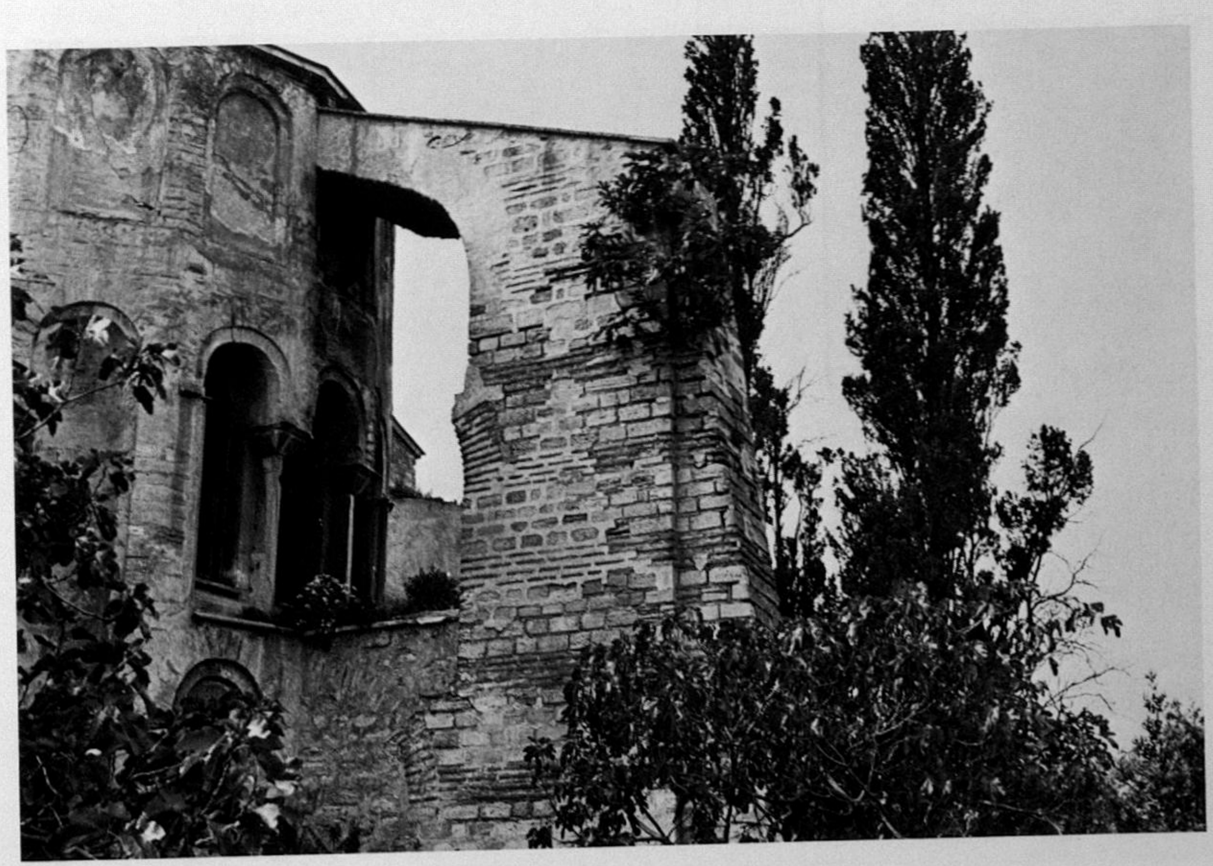
140. East facade. Parecclesion apse; detail



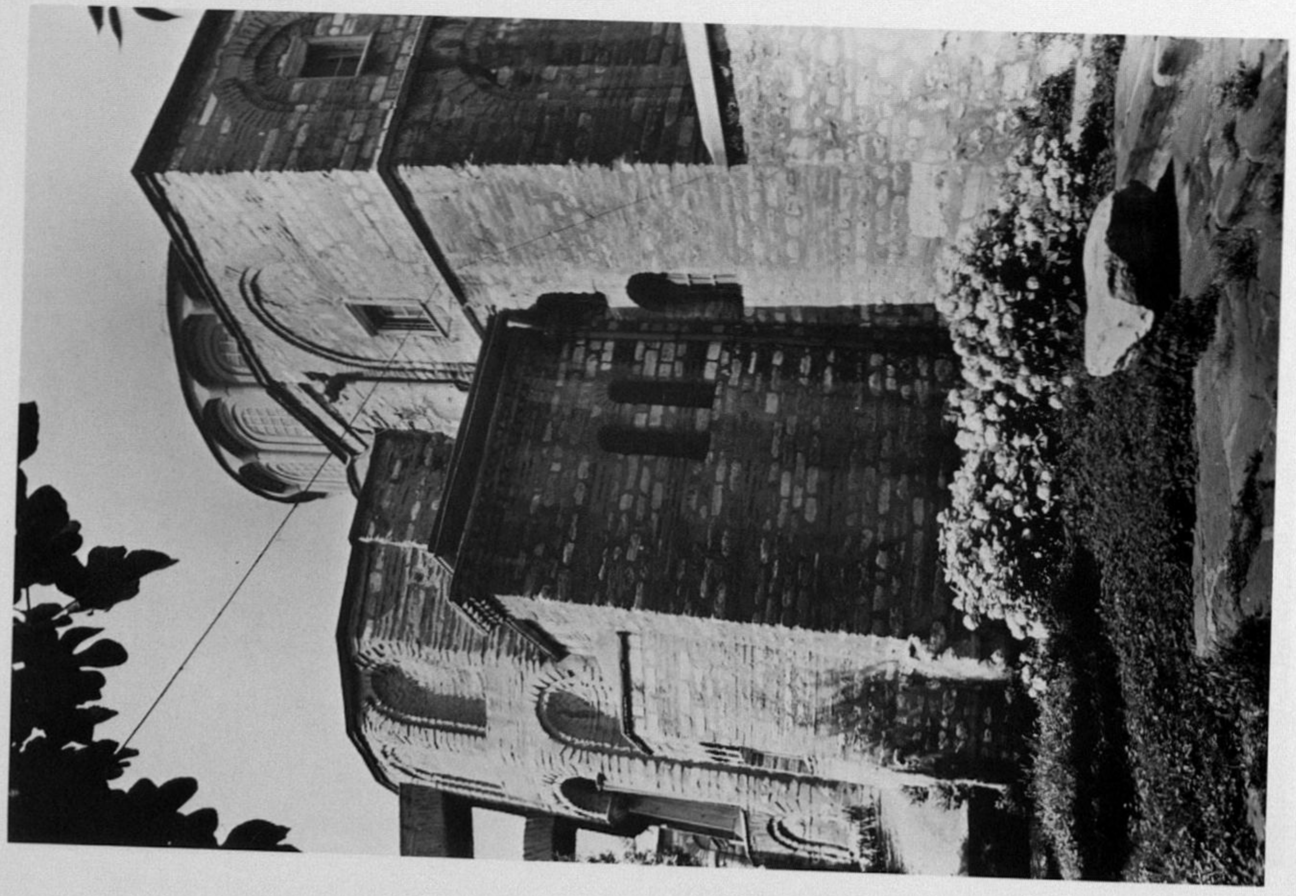
139. East facade. Parecclesion apse



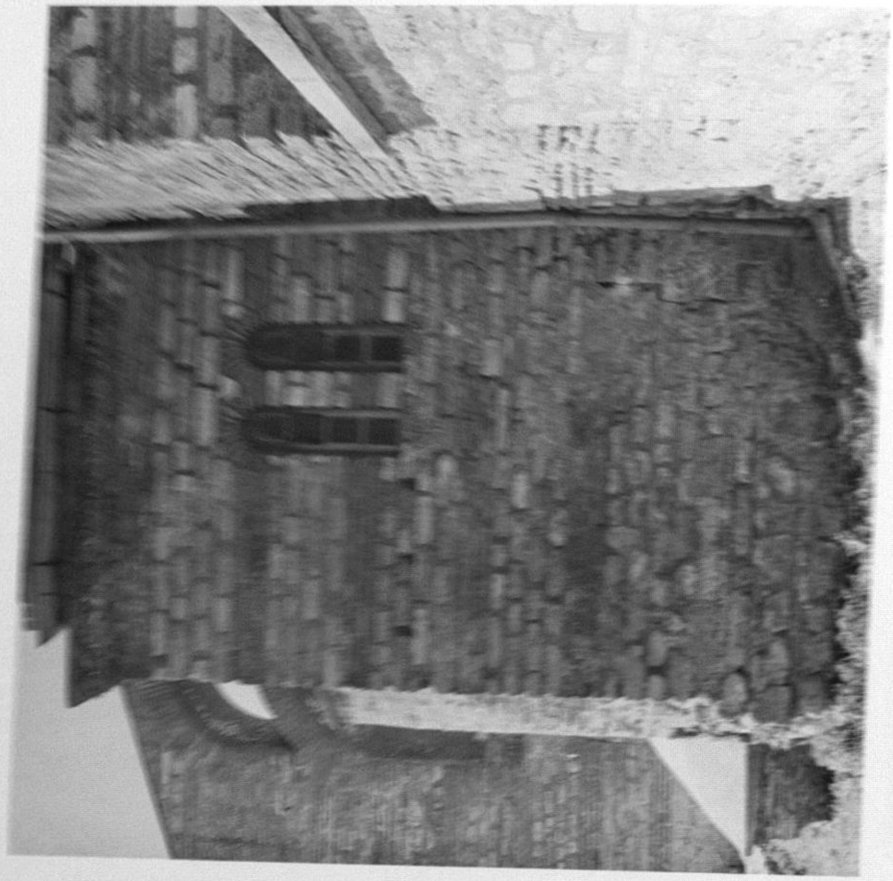
141. East facade. Prothesis and north annex



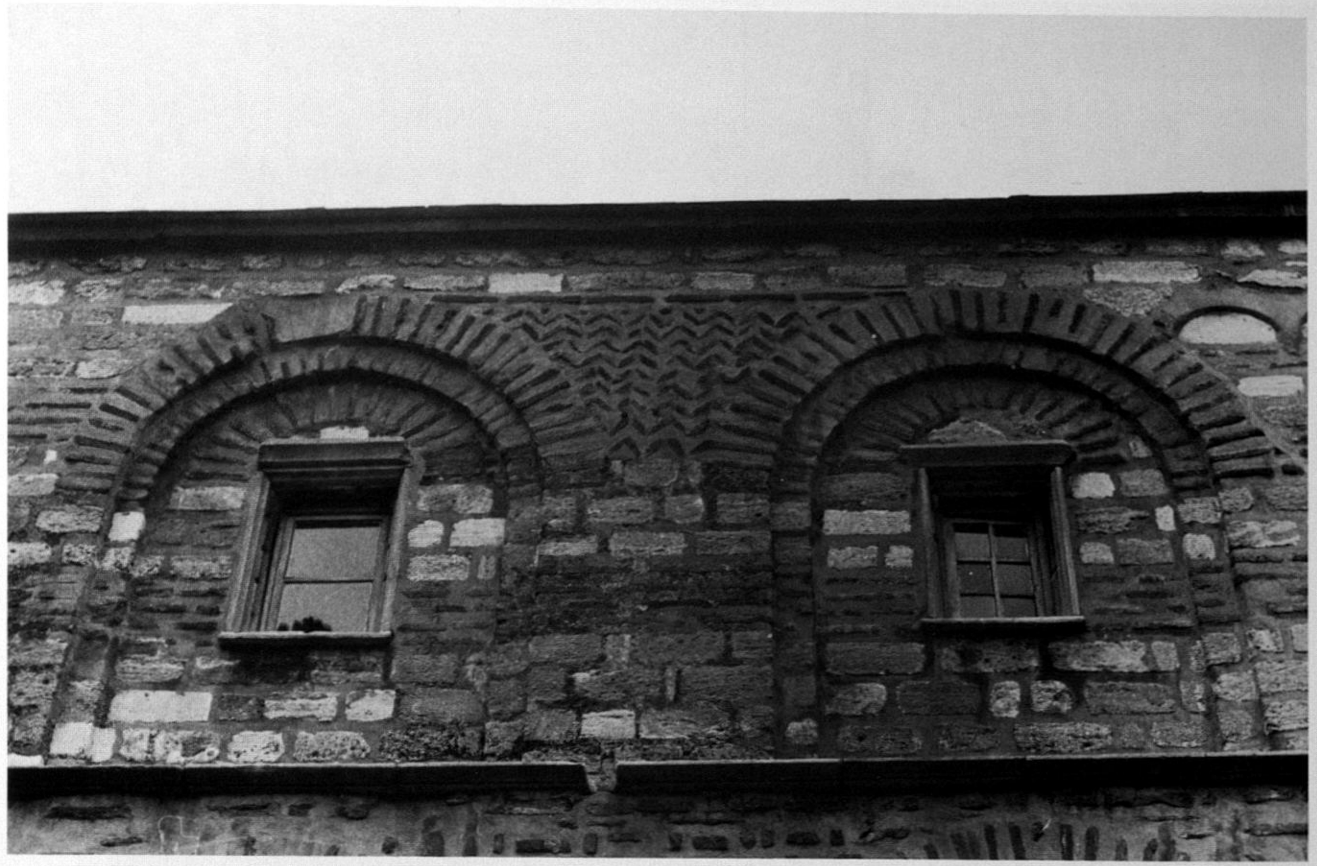
142. East facade. Flying buttress before restoration



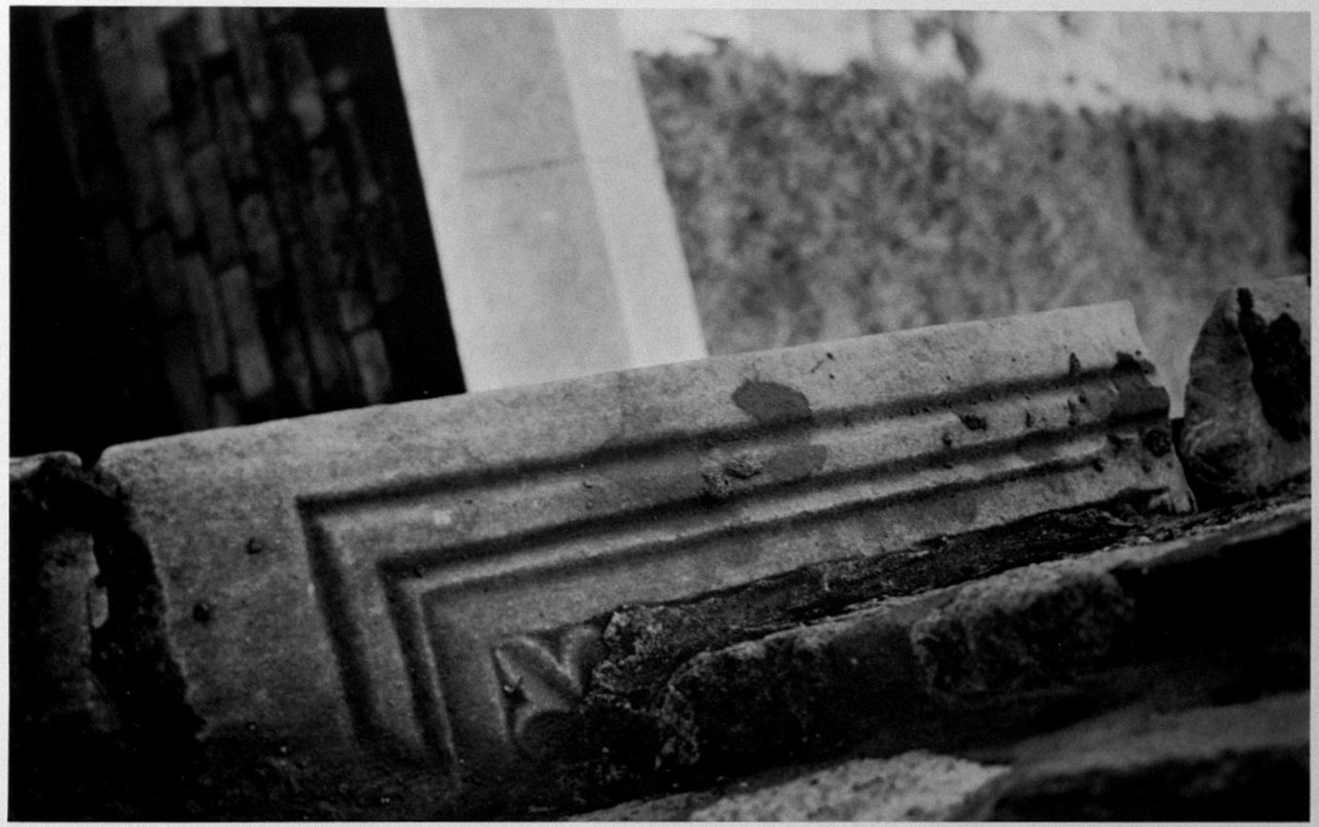
143. North facade. Prothesis and northern annex, from northwest



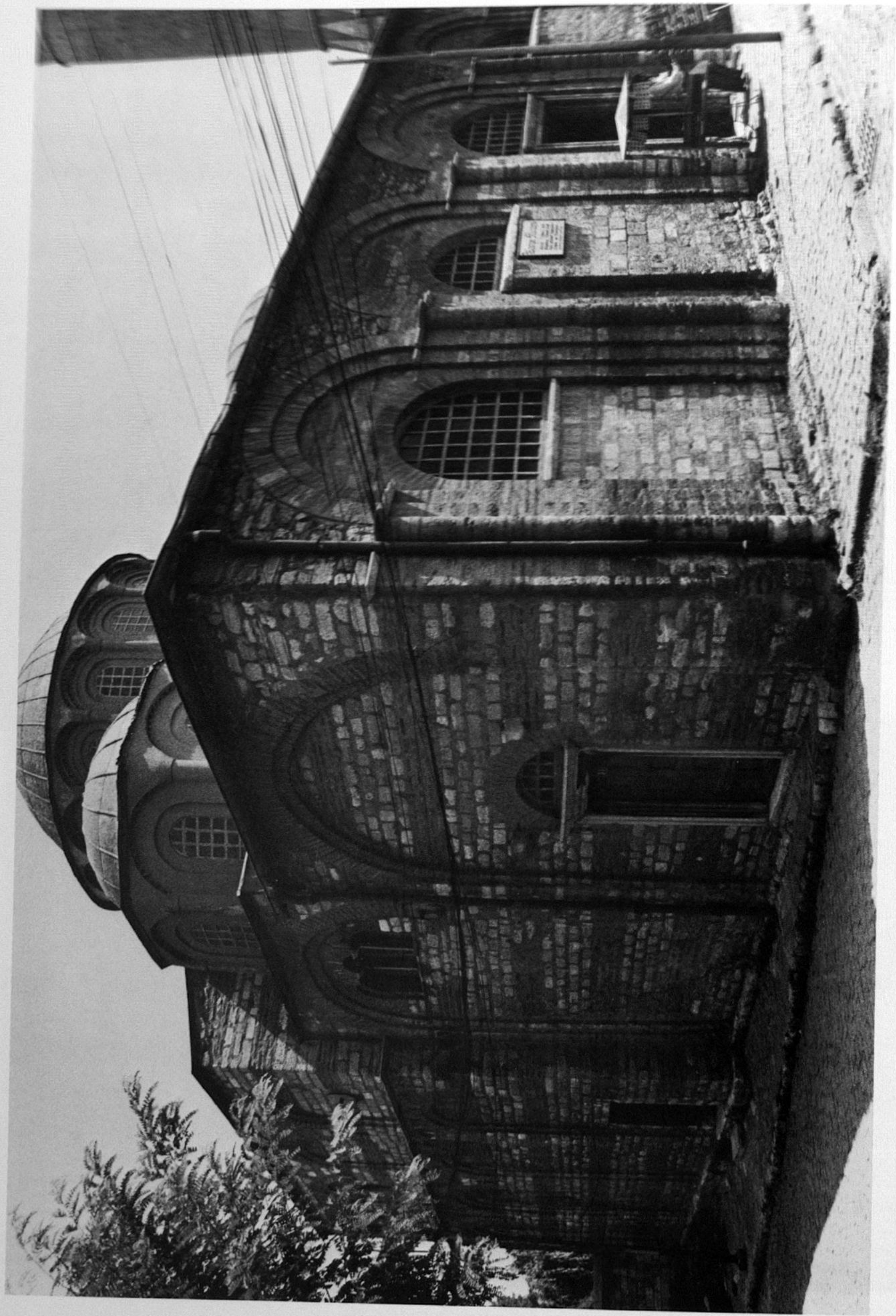
144. North facade. Prothesis



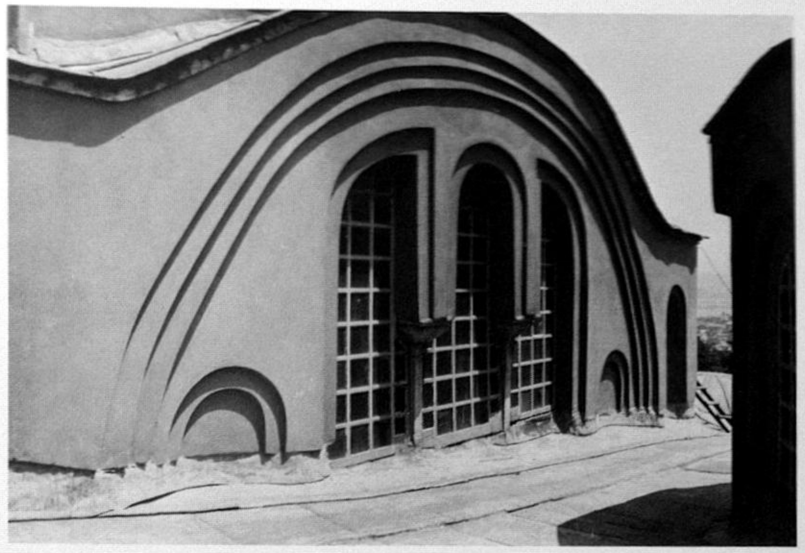
145. North facade. Detail; windows and upper east spandrel



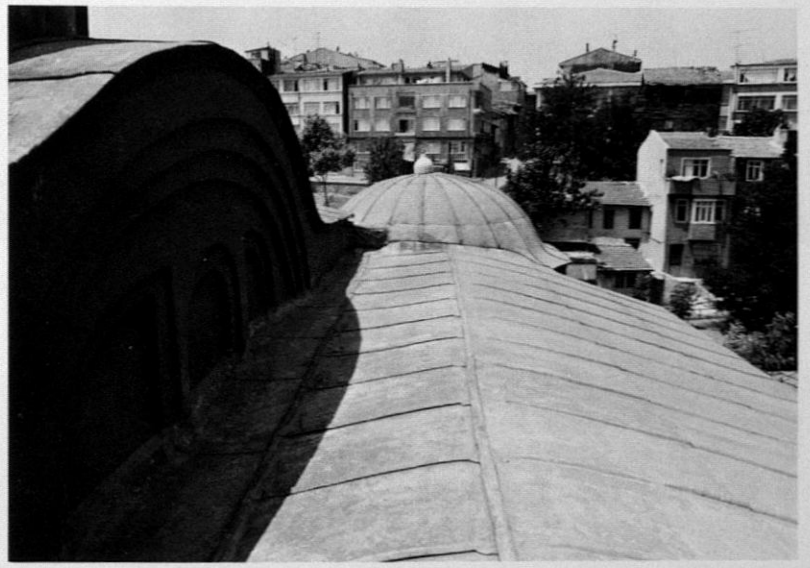
146. North facade. Recarved parapet fragment in string course



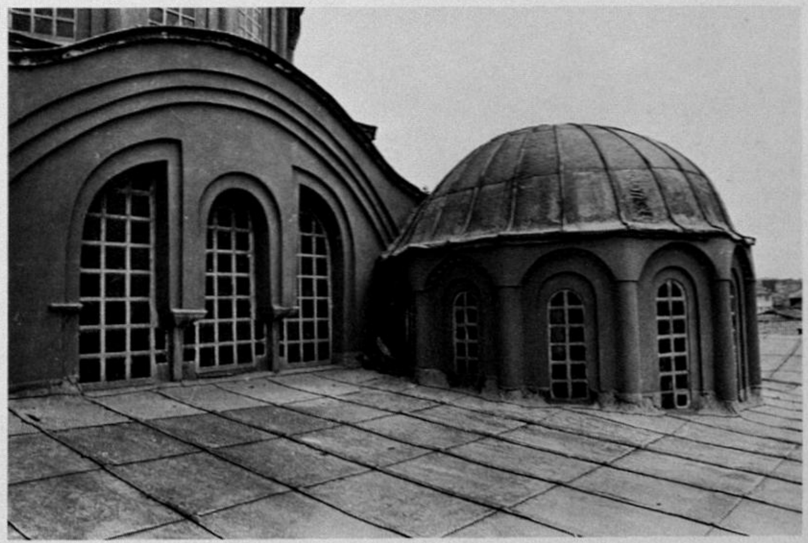
147. North facade. Narthexes, from northwest



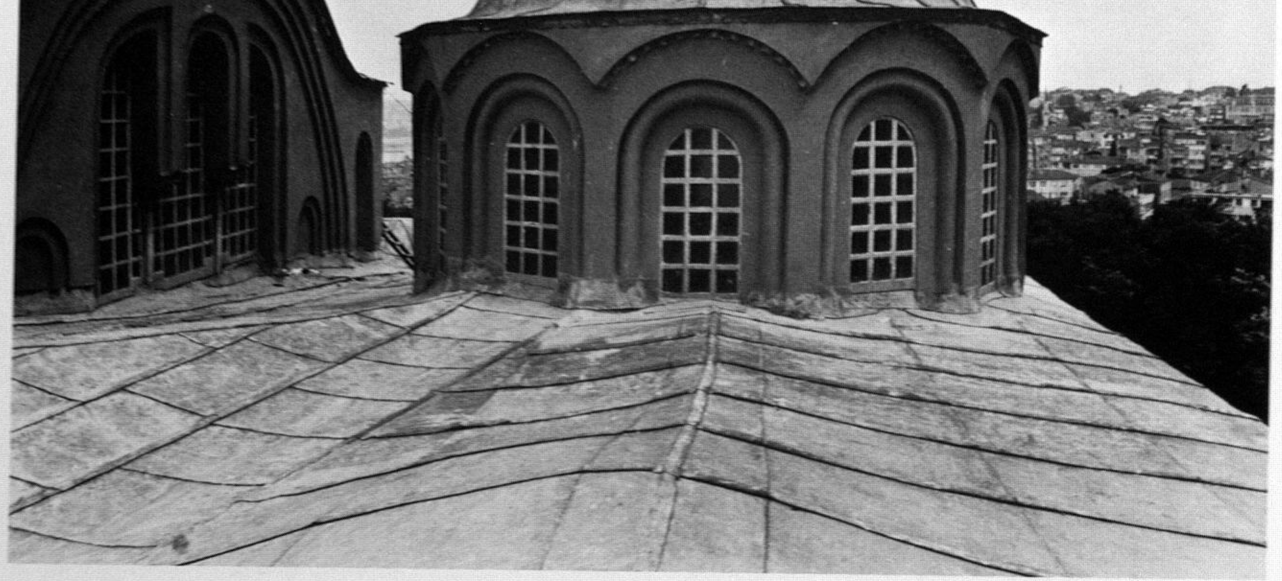
148. South upper naos wall, looking east



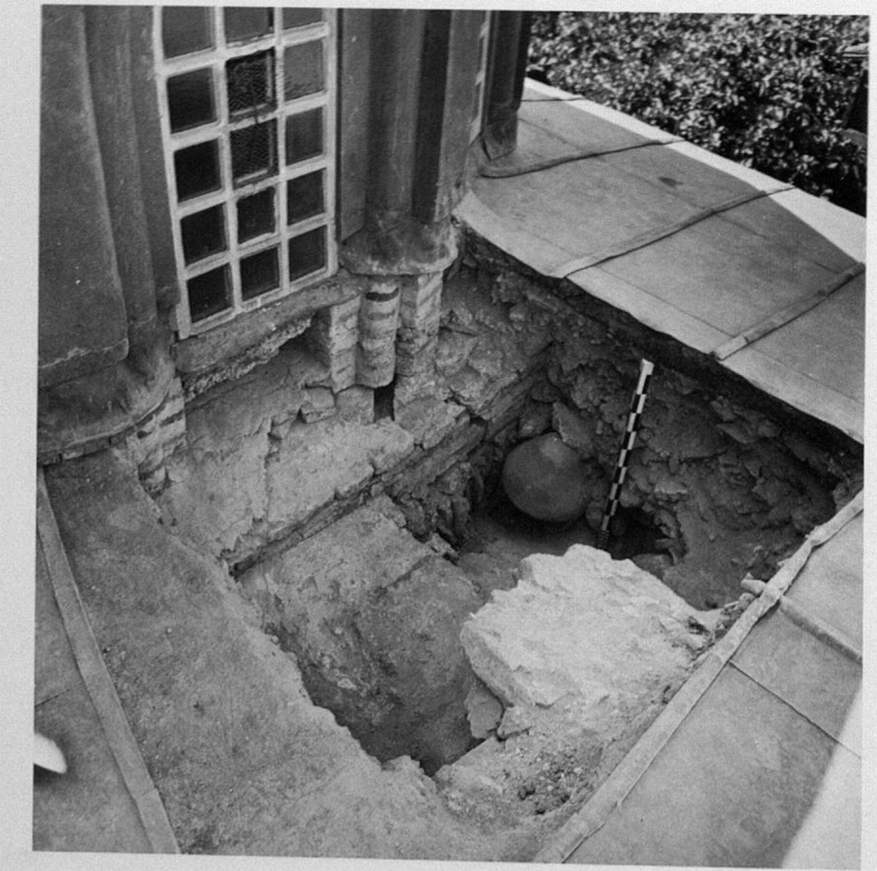
149. North upper naos wall and north annex roof, looking west

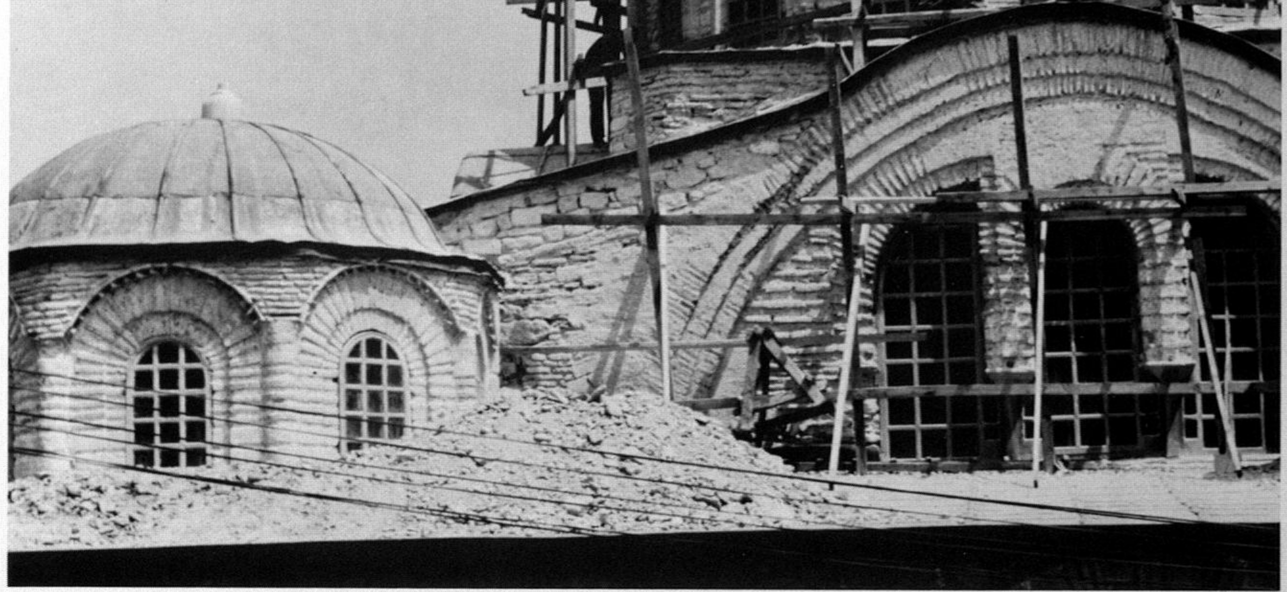


150. West upper naos wall and south esonarthex dome

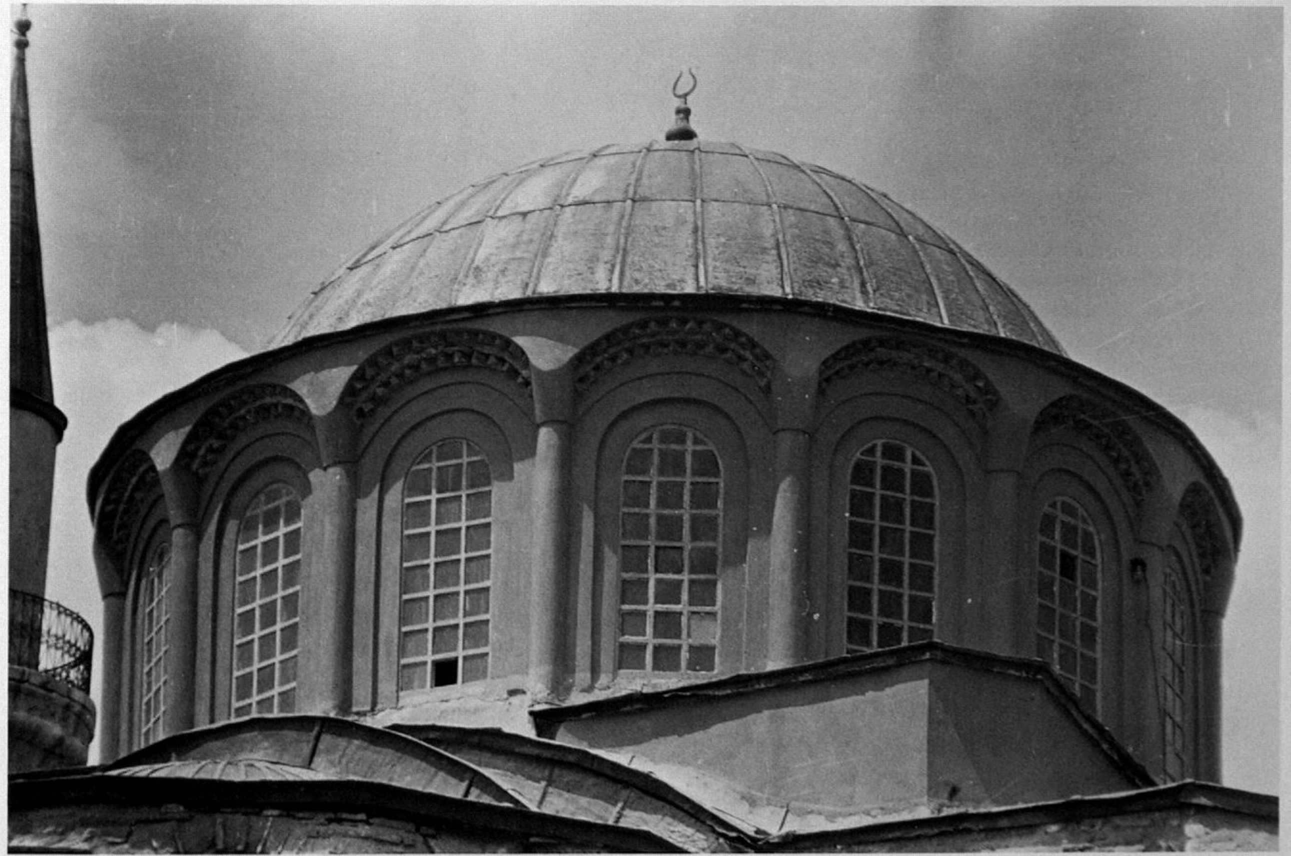


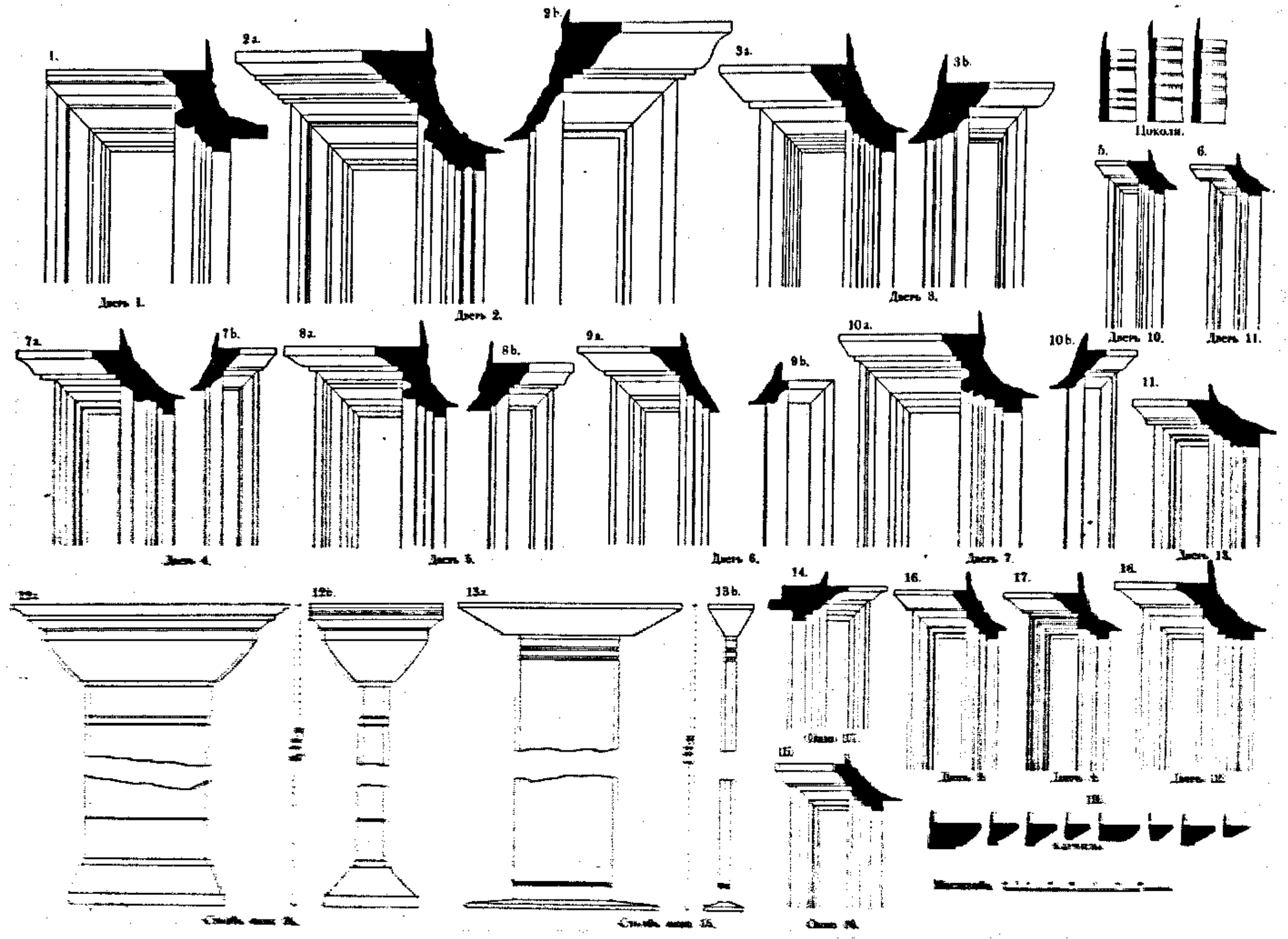
151. Parecclesion roof and dome, looking east



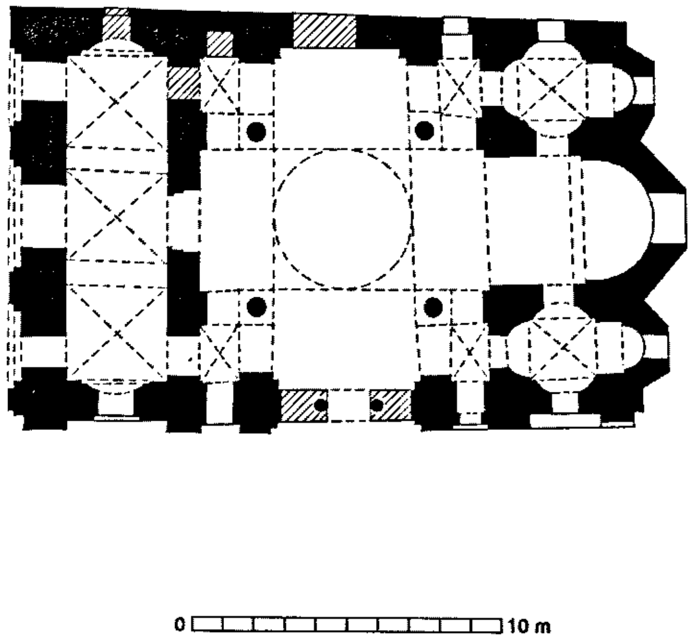


153. Domes and upper naos wall during repair, with plaster removed

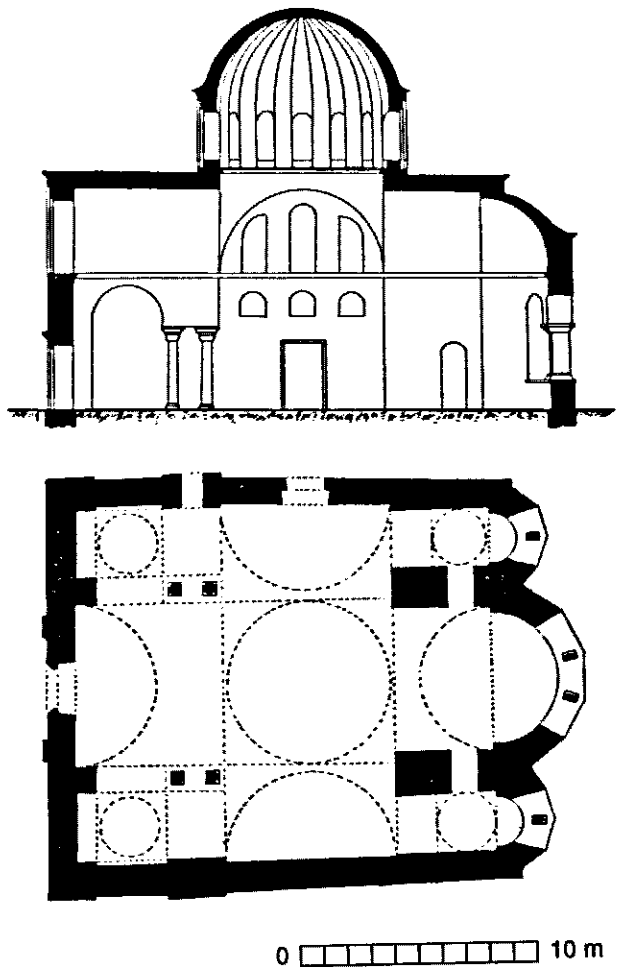




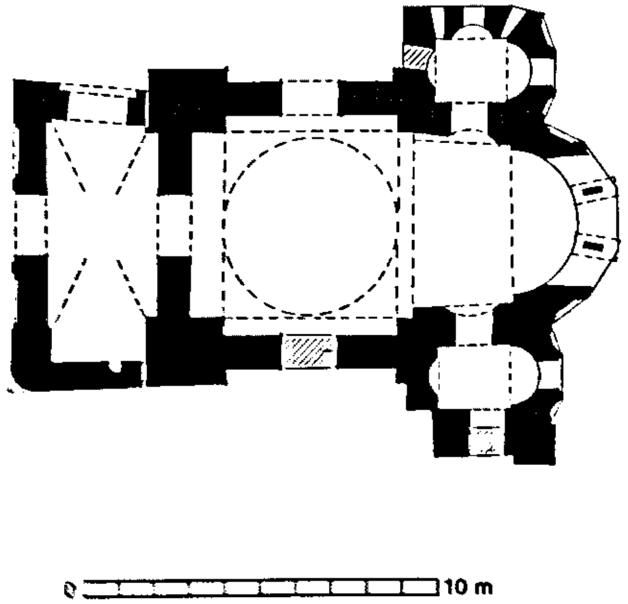
155. Marble framing elements (after Shmit): 1. west facade, main portal; 2. portal between exonarthex and esonarthex; 3. portal between esonarthex and naos; 4. skirting profiles; 5. portal to oratory; 6. portal to storeroom; 7. north portal from esonarthex to naos; 8. exonarthex, north portal; 9. exonarthex, south portal; 10. esonarthex, south portal; 11. portal to upper north annex; 12. bema, window mullions; 13. parecclesion, window mullions; 14. naos, window to upper north annex; 15. upper north annex, east window; 16. portal to diaconicon; 17. naos, portal to Passageway B; 18. parecclesion, portal to Passageway B; 19. profiles of string courses.



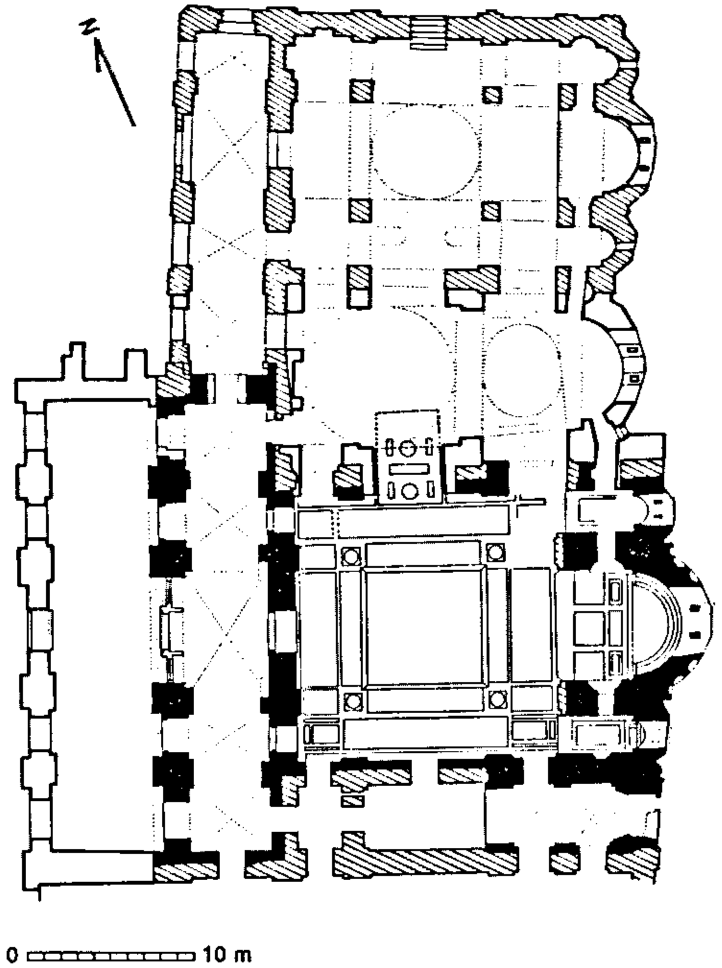
156. Istanbul. Christos ho Pantepoptēs. Plan (redrawn after Ebersolt and Thiers)



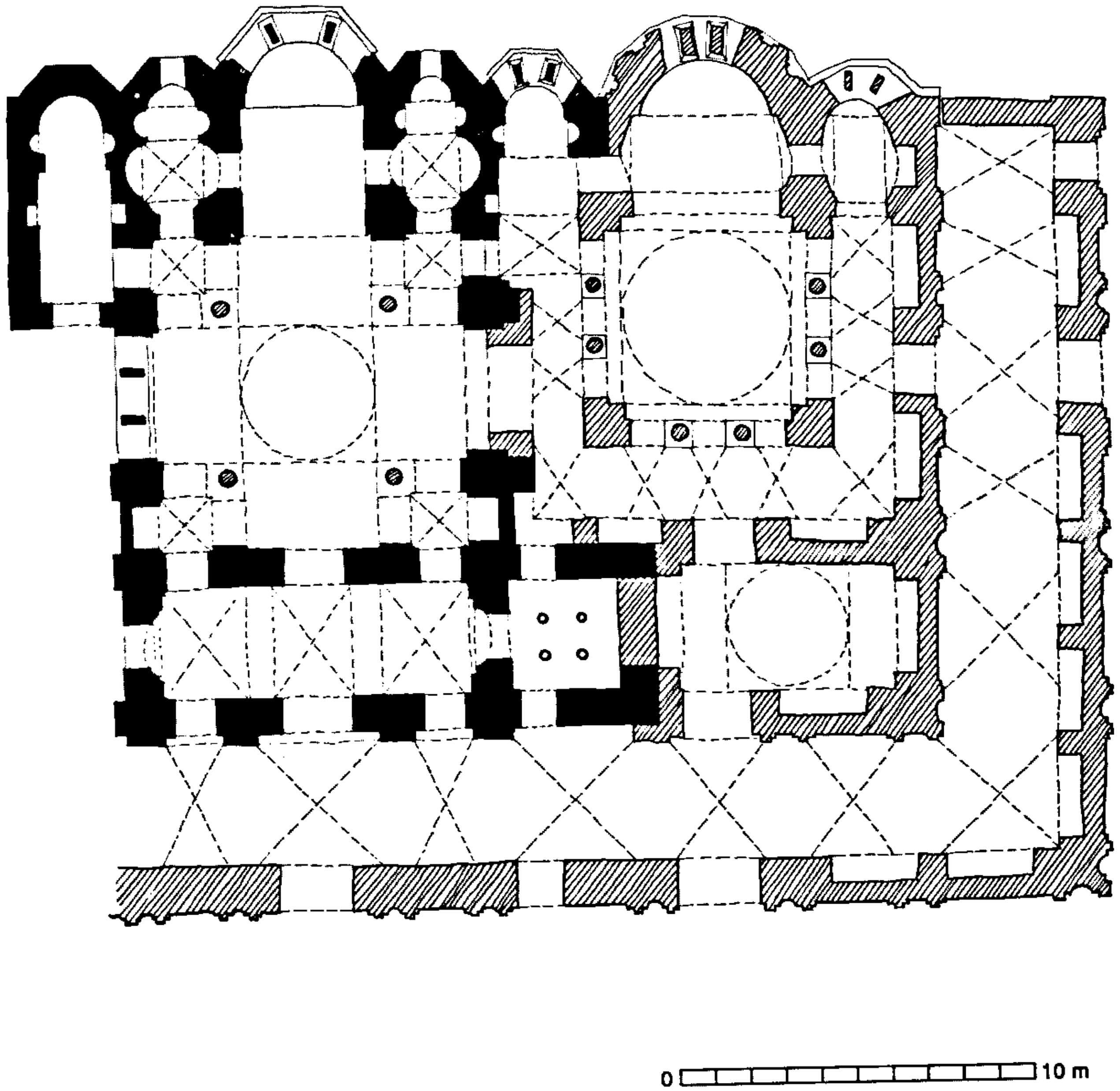
157. Pherrai. Panagia Kosmosoteira. Longitudinal section and plan (after Orlandos)



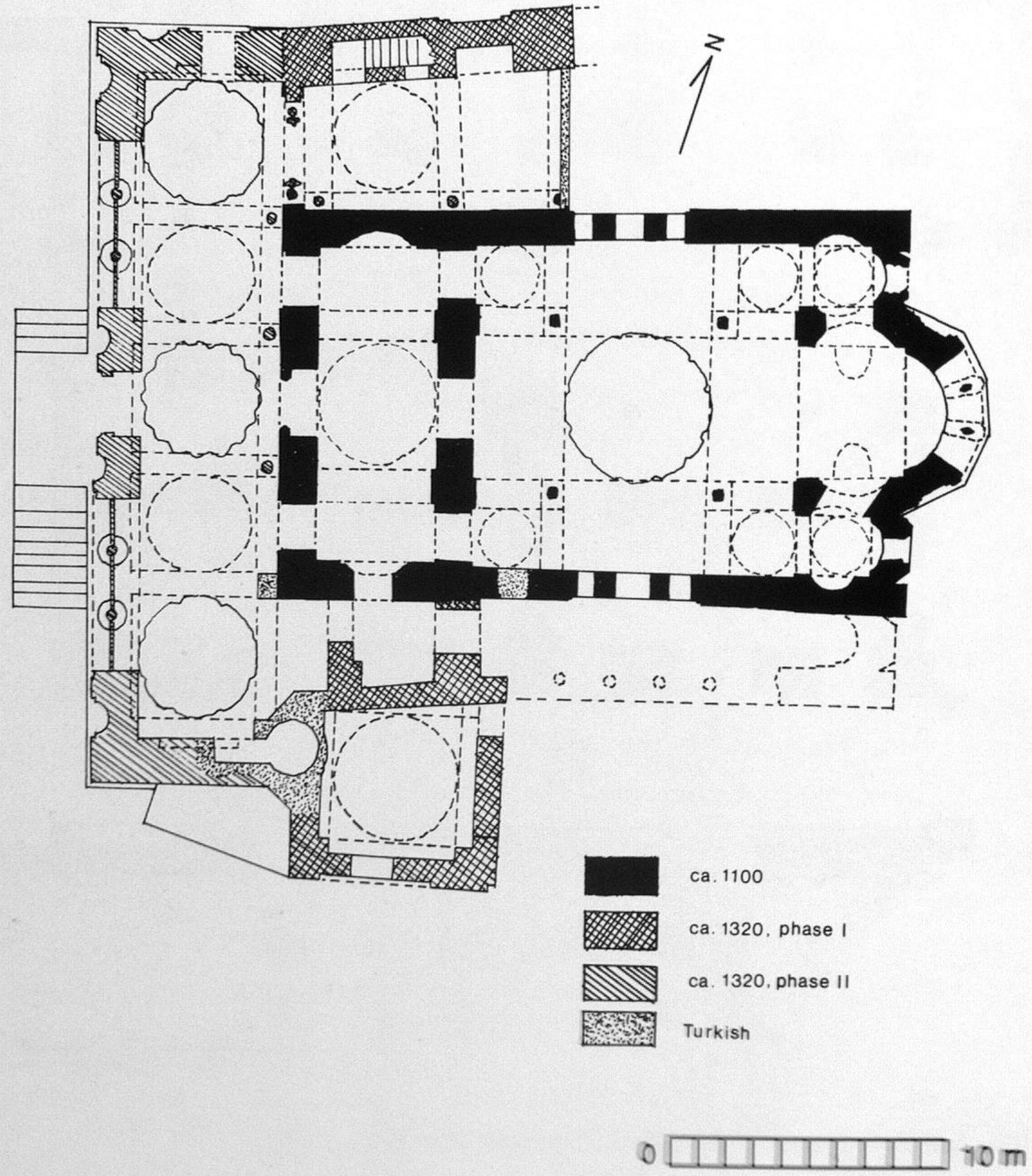
158. Kurşunlu. St. Abercius. Plan (redrawn after Mango)



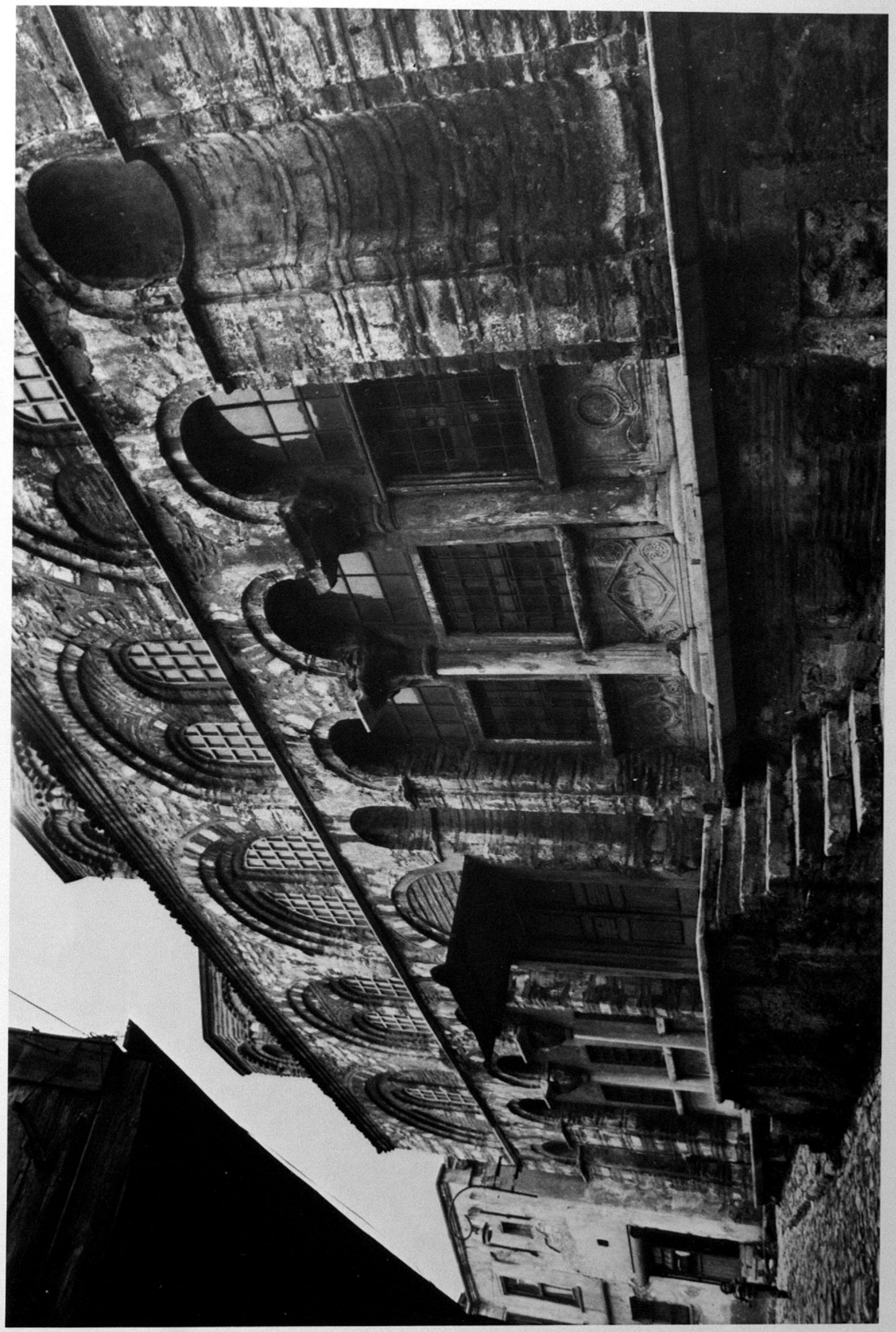
159. Istanbul. Christos ho Pantokratōr. Plan (after Megaw)



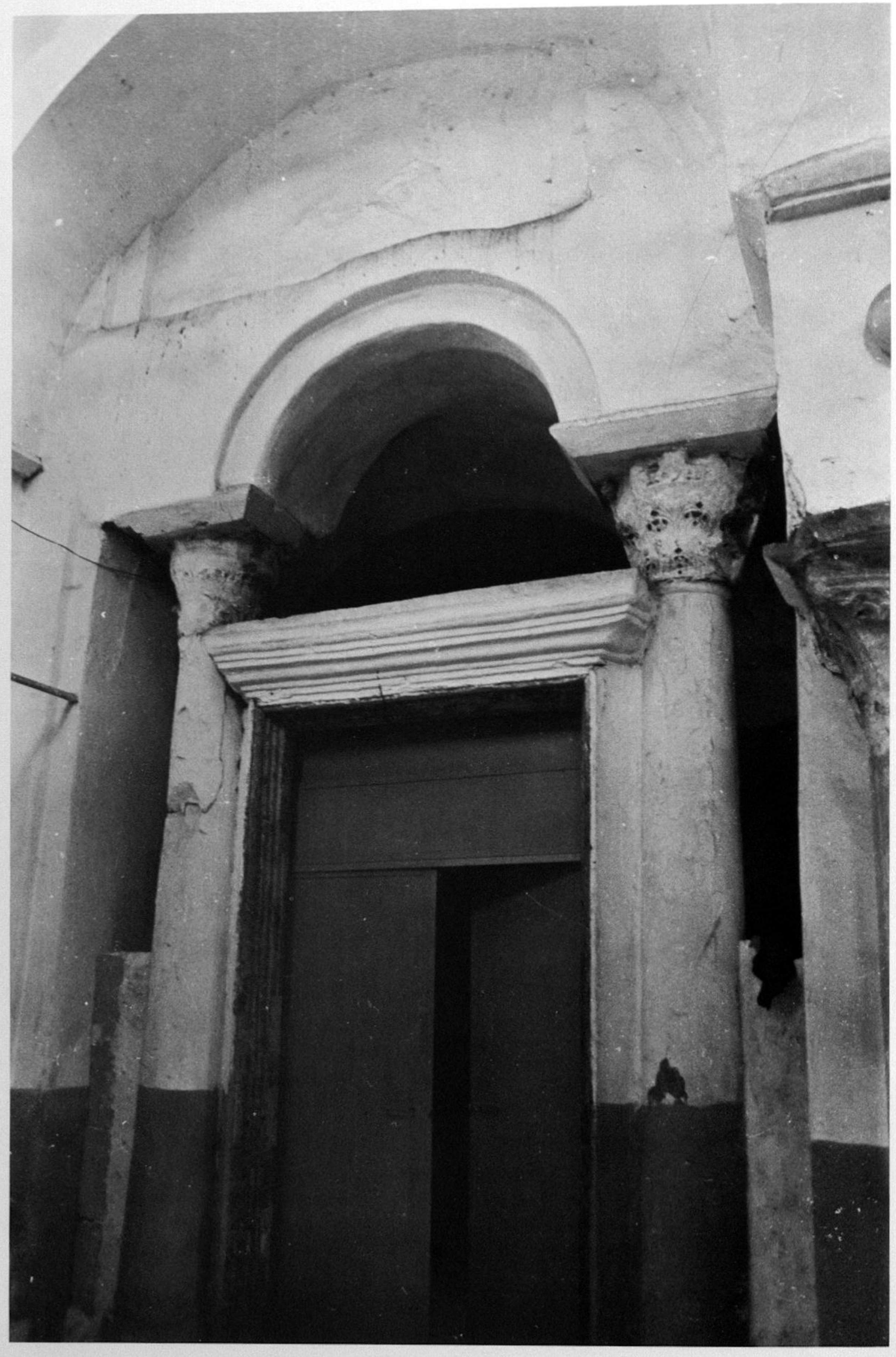
160. Istanbul. Theotokos tou Libou. Plan (after Macridy)



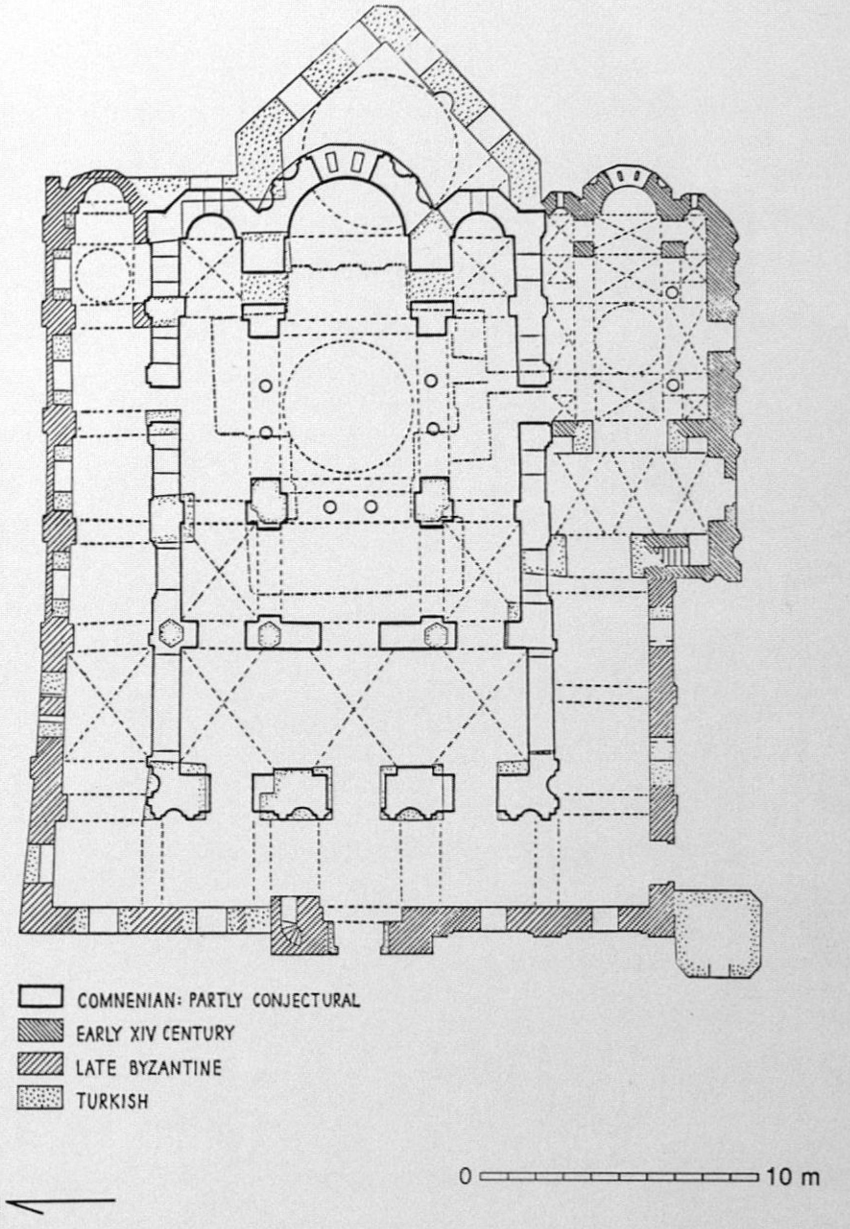
161. Istanbul. Kilise Camii. Plan (redrawn after Van Millingen)



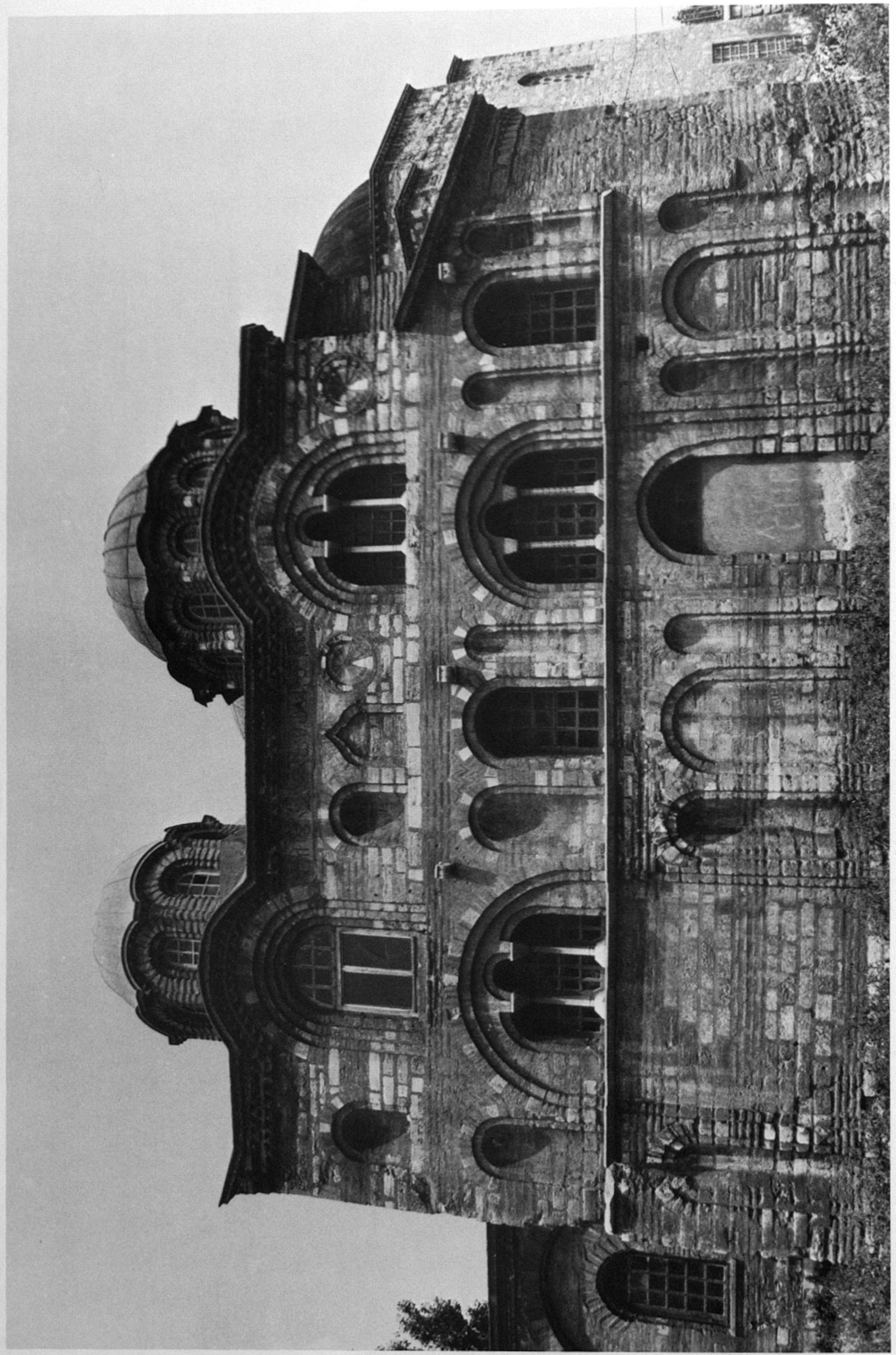
162. Istanbul. Kilise Camii. West facade



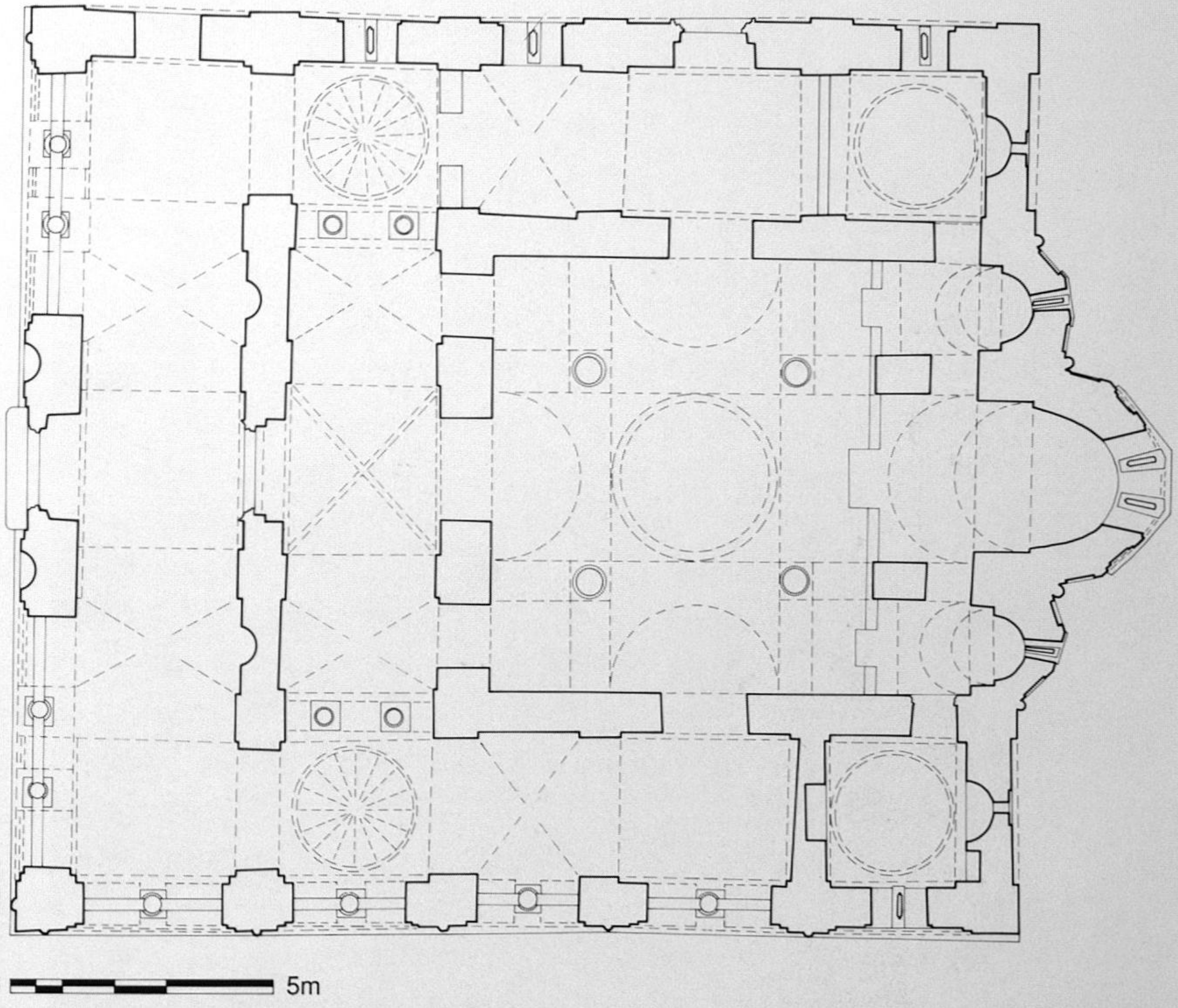
163. Istanbul. Kilise Camii. Exonarthex; entrance to north annex



164. Istanbul. Theotokos hē Pammakaristos. Plan (after Megaw and Hawkins)



165. Istanbul. Theotokos hē Pammakaristos. South facade



166. Thessaloniki. H. Apostoloi. Plan (after Rautman)